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'Who's That Singing over There?': Yugoslav Rock-Music and the Poetics of Social Critique

by

Dalibor Mišina ©

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Branimir Štulić

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled '**Who's That Singing over There?': Yugoslav Rock-Music and the Poetics of Social Critique** submitted by **Dalibor Mišina** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**.

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Abstract

In the period of late-1970's to late-1980's rock-music in Yugoslavia had an important social and political purpose. Its significance rested on providing a popular-cultural outlet for the unique forms of socio-cultural critique that engaged with the realities and problems of life in Yugoslav society. The three "music movements" that emerged in this period — *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* — employed the understanding of rock'n'roll as the "music of commitment" (i.e. as socio-cultural *praxis* premised on committed social engagement) to articulate the critiques of the country's "new socialist culture", with the purpose of helping to eliminate the disconnect between the ideal and the reality of socialist Yugoslavia. For each music movement, the source of the disconnect was perceived in different terms: for *New Wave* it was the dominant culture's neglect of youth as the meaningful agency in society; for *New Primitives* it was the dominant culture's hypocrisy of privileging non-local cultural experiences as the national cultural foundation; and for *New Partisans* it was the dominant culture's 'nationalist turn' and the dissipation of the foundational social and political values of the revolutionary past. However, all three movements shared the belief that the critique of these sources of disconnect was a necessary step in the struggle for realizing the Yugoslav ideal of a genuine socialist-humanist community 'in the true measure of man'.

The engagement of the music movements operated within the unique process of relatively pluralist and democratic cultural transformation in post-World War II

Yugoslavia. As part of the broader dynamic of cultural defining, thus, the grassroots forms of socio-cultural and socio-political critique articulated through rock-music figured as constructive contributions to the overall cultural formation of the country, aiding the revolutionary project of socialist Yugoslav society.

The basis for exploring the project's problematic is a theoretically informed historical-sociological analysis. Its aim is to offer a qualitative ideographic explanation grounded in a "particularizing practice of inquiry" of the historically unique case. The conceptual foundation for the analysis is informed by Antonio Gramsci's notion of cultural revolution as a process and Raymond Williams's distinction between the dominant, residual, and emergent cultural processes.

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CHAPTER 1

Who's That Singing over There?: An Introduction

At the center of *Who's That Singing over There?* is an attempt to understand what no longer exists — the rock-music of former Yugoslav society. Of necessity, this makes the project a work in historical sociology — i.e. the type of inquiry that is grounded in historical research methodology but animated by distinctly sociological research interests and concerns. The other way to put this would be to say that the project is a historically oriented but sociologically motivated analysis, constructed as the kind of research that runs on a historical engine but is propelled by a sociological fuel. Its ultimate aim, thus, is to address and answer the sociological questions that animate the historically grounded investigation, and to provide an interpretive understanding of the issues these questions bring forth.

The fundamental problematic of *Who's That Singing over There?* is Yugoslav rock-music and its socio-cultural standing in Yugoslav socialist community. Its general framework is informed by the notion that "rock'n'roll in communist countries was ... the only — albeit spontaneous, also organized to a degree — form of alternative consciousness [whose] entire strength was in the fact that there was no other organized alternative thought" (Bregović in Loza 1990a: 36). In this context, the aim of the analysis is to investigate the relationship between rock'n'roll as a distinct and important socio-cultural force in socialist Yugoslavia and the cultural-political realities of Yugoslav society in the period of late 1970's to late 1980's. The project's basic assumption is that understanding this relationship reveals an important story about not only the (nature of) Yugoslav rock-music itself but also about the nature and problems of Yugoslav society as a particular kind of 'imagined ideological community' and distinct socio-political project. The central thesis thus is that in the period of late 1970's to late 1980's Yugoslav rock'n'roll is, in a sense, much more than music, and that its principal socio-cultural significance rests on being an important popular-cultural outlet for reflecting (upon) the idea(l) of Yugoslav socialist community, grappling with discrepancies between the proclaimed and the existing, and — at its most explicit — envisioning the possibilities for overcoming the problems of the country's cultural and political realities. Hence the main argument of the project is that Yugoslav rock-music figures as the most consequential popular-cultural catalyst of socio-cultural and socio-political critique (i.e. reflection, engagement, and praxis) in Yugoslav society. Ultimately, *Who's That Singing over There?* is a sociological exploration and validation of all these.

Most broadly, the problematic of the project can be situated within a unique post-revolutionary process of cultural change, whose framework was bound by the commitment to building the new Yugoslavia as a socialist-humanist community and a society governed by the political-ideological principle of socialist democracy. This process of cultural change was unique in that it did not emulate the Soviet or the Chinese model of cultural revolution but pursued an autonomous course of relatively pluralist and democratic cultural transformation. For practical and ideological reasons, the cultural transformation in Yugoslavia was markedly different from the Soviet 'monologic' cultural experience where "the existence of single overarching discourse, ... legitimated by the full punitive power of the state, was a chief feature of soviet society", and where this (as Bakhtin terms it) 'authoritative discourse', "like religious dogma or accepted scientific truth, [had] to be accepted or rejected in toto" (Brooks 1994: 975; see also Brooks 2001). It was also unlike the Chinese cultural experience where the unitarist-centralist political principle of 'democratic dictatorship' and the social-cultural dynamics of mass movements shaped the trajectories of post-revolutionary cultural change (see Tsou 1999). Because of its intent to reconcile multi-national and multi-cultural realities of the new society with the socialist-democratic form of political governance, the cultural transformation in post-World War II Yugoslavia took the shape of a broad-based revolutionary process premised on the progressive development of the public sphere, active participatory input of the socio-cultural institutions of civil society, and increasingly decentralized processes of political decision-making and administration. Thus, the logic of confining socio-cultural pluralism to an ever-expanding tutelage of the omnipotent political state, central to the Soviet and the Chinese models of cultural revolution, figured fairly marginally in the Yugoslav case.

Yugoslavia's post-World War II process of cultural change can be framed conceptually through Gramsci's understanding of revolution as a cultural process. Its central assumption is the notion that, "rather than viewing revolution as a dramatic break after which the new society begins to develop[,] revolution must be understood as a process which begins within the old society and continues after moments of dramatic change" (Sassoon 1982: 15). Understood this way, revolution is about a sustained, mass-based, effort to build a new society by building qualitatively new types of social relationships that would, through the progressive revolutionary action, replace the ones of previous social order. Central to this process is a fundamental cultural transformation, aimed at creating new 'cognitive referents' and remapping, in historically novel ways, the preceding socio-cultural and political understandings and experiences. Culture, in this context, is understood as new forms of consciousness *acting* on the world by critically and consciously working out one's own conception thereof (Crehan 2002: 80-1). Its main property, thus, is its dynamism, discerned through an interplay of dominant, residual, and emergent cultural processes (Williams 1977).

In light of the above, the engagement of Yugoslav rock-music in the period of late 1970's to late 1980's can be situated within the general post-revolutionary process of cultural transformation and the building of a new culture and society. As part of the broader societal process of cultural defining, the grassroots forms of socio-cultural and socio-political critique articulated through rock-music aimed at interrogating the problematic aspects of the national culture and aiding the overall revolutionary project of socialist Yugoslavia. As such, they figured as constructive contributions to the overall cultural formation of the country, grounded in the dominant utopian imaginary and, ultimately, working towards its full realization.

In the context of the project's problematic, Yugoslav rock-music will be framed conceptually as a "music movement", a concept that has historical origins in the Soviet Revolution. Specifically, the "music movement" is a terminological derivative borrowed from the name of the Proletarian Music Movement of Soviet Russia. In existence from the early 1920's until early 1930's, the Movement was a form of music activism fuelled by revolutionary enthusiasm and dreams of the October revolution. Animated by Lenin's dictum that 'art belongs to the people [and that therefore] it must have its deepest roots in the broad mass of the workers'(in Edmunds 2000: 11), the Proletarian Music Movement was about creating a dictatorship of the proletariat in musical life, that is, about 'bringing music to the people' and employing it as a strategic cultural resource of socialist revolutionary empowerment. Crucially, this meant creating the 'new music' as the working-class art form to be used by the workers themselves to express their feelings, thoughts and desires, and, in doing so, to offer to the Soviet society the music of life itself. As Edmunds puts it, "this entailed the organization of a large-scale educational program and the development of amateur – i.e. worker and peasant – musical activities[, and] develop[ment of] mass musical forms and instruments that reflected ideas popular in, and responded to the needs of, the new society" (Edmunds 2000: 11-2).

Derived from the essential aspect of the *praxis* of the Soviet Proletarian Music Movement, the term music movement aims to denote several important aspects of Yugoslav rock'n'roll and its relationship to Yugoslav socialist community: (1) the centrality of music as a cultural resource of socio-political empowerment; (2) the intentionality of using music to a strategic socio-political end; and (3) the fundamentally constructive relationship between Yugoslav 'rock-forces' and the official society. Music movement, thus, is meant to encapsulate conceptually the strategic importance of rock'n'roll as an engaged popular-cultural force in the struggle for the affirmation and realization of (the ideal of) Yugoslav socialist community. Moreover, it is meant to convey that the utopian imaginary which fueled the socio-cultural engagement through rock-music had its source within Yugoslav society itself rather than in some form of imported, or external, socio-cultural transcendence of the existing.

Can the term music movement be thought of as a conceptual correlative to social movement, and, if so, why not use the latter in its stead? In short, the answer is no. Substituting music movement with social movement would not do because of three specific problems: (1) the problem of definition, (2) the problem of utopian imaginary, and (3) the problem of societal specificity. The first problem is due to the lack of clear definition and conceptual articulation of social movement, making it a 'contested concept'. As Wilkinson (1971: 15) observes in his classic analysis of social movement, 'the recent efforts to define and conceptualize a concept of social movement have been beset by extraordinary confusion and difficulty' and there is no consensus within disciplines as to how these difficulties may be overcome. The same point had been reiterated some thirty years later by Crossley (2002: 2):

> Many definitions have been offered in the literature but all are problematic. Some are too broad, such that they include phenomena which we would not wish to call social movements, and yet any attempt to narrow the definition down seems destined to exclude certain movements or at least the range of their forms and activities. In addition, every definition includes terms which themselves require definition.

Thus the principal problem with social movement is the fact that it lacks conceptual clarity and that, as Crossley puts it, 'its definition inevitably rests upon the fuzzy logic of ordinary language use' (Crossley 2002: 7). According to Wilkinson, the way around this might be to offer the working definition of social movement as 'type-concept' that would not so much define it in any watertight sense but rather identify its quintessential characteristics. Thus he offers the following three central attributes of, presumably, any social movement: (1) 'deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' community'; (2) 'a minimal degree of organization, though this may range from a loose, informal or partial level of organization to the highly institutionalized and bureaucratized movement and the corporate group'; and (3) 'commitment to change and the *reason d'être* of organization are founded upon the conscious volition, normative commitment to the movement's aims or beliefs, and active participation on the part of the followers or members' (Wilkinson 1971: 27). In Wilkinson's view, identifying these is as far as one can push conceptual delimiting of social movement.

If accepted as unproblematic, is this working definition suitable enough to dispense with the notion of music movement? Seemingly so, but there is, implicitly, an aspect to it — having to do with the nature of utopian imaginary — that makes it a problematic substitute. According to a general sociological understanding, followed by Wilkinson, the central feature of any social movement is the existence of utopian vision as the ability to imagine alternative forms of living and articulate alternative perceptions of reality — that is, as a form of transcendence. The fire that fuels the utopian engine of a social movement, thus, is the ability to confront the problematic present with the imaginary whose essential contours are *outside* the existing societal order, and to use that imaginary as the catalyst for a progressive social change. Mannheim alludes to this when he observes that "only those orientations transcending reality will be referred to by us as utopian which, when they pass over into conduct, tend to shatter, either partially or wholly, the order of things prevailing at the time" (in Schehr 1997: 145). In contrast to that of social movement, the *praxis* of music movement is not animated by the utopian imaginary located outside the structures of the existing society, but firmly entrenched *within* the latter's socio-ideological locus. Thus the utopia of music movement is not the utopia of 'nowhere' — of the state, or condition, that is yet to come — but the utopia of the (idealized) real-existing. For music movement, therefore, the utopian vision is realized by strengthening, rather than shattering, partially or wholly, the order of things prevailing at the time.

Finally, the problem of societal specificity points to the fact that the sociological treatment of social movement is grounded in understanding collective behavior and social action in relation to (the problems of) capitalist society. The conceptual meaning of social movement, and the ways of theorizing about is, is tied to understanding the logic of capitalism and its impact on individuals' conditions of existence. The concept of music movement, on the other hand, is used to understand the nature of collective engagement in relation to (the problems) of socialist society; its meaning, therefore, is informed by individuals' conditions of existence within, and their relationship to, a qualitatively different type of social structure. While some complementarity between the two concepts cannot be denied, transplanting social movement as an explanatory tool from its natural to a foreign societal terrain would, in the end, be as problematic as using sociological theorizing about capitalism to conceptualize and explain the reality of socialism.

All considered, "music movement" is not only a preferred and more fitting but, more importantly, a necessary conceptual option. In some respects, the concept could be recast as a "music-centered cultural movement", although that would entail broadening the scope of study and considering some of the wider, related cultural expressions (e.g. Emir Kusturica's films *Do You Remember, Dolly Bell* and *When Father Was Away on Business*) which are not the focus of *Who's That Singing over There?* (for analysis of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav cinema, see Levi 2007).

Who's That Singing over There?*: The Method of Presentation*

The project's research foundation is built on the following propositions about Yugoslav rock'n'roll:

I. **The history of Yugoslav rock'n'roll starts in mid-1970's; everything before is but its pre-history**

Although in existence since about mid-1950's, rock-music in Yugoslavia before mid-1970's was a fairly marginal popular-cultural phenomenon virtually non-existent in the public cultural life of Yugoslav society; it was only in the mid-1970's that rock'n'roll gets discovered by the general society as the central force of new Yugoslav urban youth culture and that the country's cultural officialdom gives this previously marginal music form a serious thought and consideration. The inclusion of rock-music into the cognitive portfolio of Yugoslavia's cultural sphere marked the real beginning of its existence as a visible and consequential popular-cultural form — the real beginning of its public history.

II. **The 'substantive turn' was the dividing point between the pre-history and history of Yugoslav rock-music**

The 'substantive turn' was a moment of Yugoslav rock'n'roll's transformation from 'substance of style' to 'style of substance' — that is, from music form that derived its essence from a particular performative style to music expression whose foundation was grounded in a particular form of substance. Central to the 'substantive turn' was a fundamental redrawing of 'artistic cognitive maps' and revolutionizing of rock-music as a form of substantive engagement with one's personal and collective 'being in the world' and a means of negotiating one's relationship with one's social *habitus* — i.e. reconfiguration of rock'n'roll as a socio-cultural *praxis*. This reconstitution of Yugoslav rock-music as a purposeful and meaningful artistic undertaking marshaled in a radically new popular-cultural direction in Yugoslav society.

III. **'Music of commitment' was the substance of Yugoslav rock'n'roll**

In terms of Yugoslav rock'n'roll, 'music of commitment' was an embodiment of the new philosophy or rock'n'roll *praxis* grounded in serious artistic dedication to society and responsibility to audiences. Its intellectual foundations were bound by positing rock-music as a committed social engagement and rock-musician as conscientized artist-intellectual with a non-conformist outlook and critical standpoint. The categorical imperative of the 'music of commitment' was social usefulness over artistic self-involvement — 'I act, therefore I am'.

IV. **'Poetics of the present' was practical expression of 'music of commitment'**

As music of commitment, the new Yugoslav rock'n'roll *praxis* constructed a radically new mode of expression whose central preoccupation was a direct and unmediated reflection on the here-and-now of one's social experience and existence in the world. This new 'poetics of the present' aimed at perceiving, registering and expressing the realities of social life in all their subtleties and complexities, using the language that was straightforward, honest and devoid of unnecessary stylistic and rhetorical adornments. This directness and integrity of expression and perception was the essence of Yugoslav rock'n'roll's new idiomatic authenticity.

V. The 'music movements' of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* were 'music of commitment' incarnate

Music movement can be defined as a *socio-cultural force that encapsulates a collectively shared sense of expressing particular soci(et)ally consequential ideas by a variety of homologous socio-cultural agents*[1] *(hence 'movement') through the medium of rock-music (therefore 'music').*[2] The concept of music movement thus denotes — all at once — a form of consciousness translated into specific type of poetics and put to practice as collective socio-cultural engagement. The history of Yugoslav rock'n'roll as music of commitment was marked by the existence of three specific music movements: *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans*. The *praxis* of each movement was articulated through a variant of 'poetics of the present': 'poetics of the real', 'poetics of the local', and 'poetics of the patriotic'.

---

[1] It has to be noted that the 'socio-cultural agents' of the music movements of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* were all men, and that, in general, rock-music in Yugoslavia was overwhelmingly a masculine domain. While women figured prominently as a very appreciative rock-audience, their artistic and creative participation in rock-music — when present — was mostly limited to a supporting role as background vocalists. An important exception was an all-female rock-band from Novi Sad, *Boye*, whose 1984 debut single had the logo "first real female sound" prominently displayed on its record sleeve. The band was undoubtedly influenced by the spirit and practices of the 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock-music (most of their records were produced by one of the key *New Wave* artists, Dušan Kojić – Koja), but it managed to successfully develop and maintain the status of an 'independent rock-universe'. Interestingly enough, the local sources on rock-music consulted for the project do not deal to any significant degree with the absence of women in Yugoslav rock'n'roll — a theme well worthy of further research.

[2] Using this definition I wish to move away from the strict understanding of movement as something that suggests specific(ally codified) organizational and programmatic parameters. The above definition of music movement suggests the sense of collectively shared identity on the part of individual agents, without it necessarily being grounded in the firmly defined overall design and/or agenda. The collectivity of music movement, therefore, is built on multiple socio-cultural 'emissaries' recognizing importance of *social engagement* through the medium of music in the context of commonly forged music scene. The latter in no way suggests that making soci(et)ally consequential ideas part of the popular-cultural *conscience collectif* is restricted to music alone and that it cannot be carried over to other popular-cultural venues (such as print and television, for example); however, it does imply the primacy and centrality of music as artistic medium of choice.

VI. **_New Wave_'s 'poetics of the real' was eruption of Yugoslav youth's urban consciousness**

The momentous achievement of *New Wave* was to put Yugoslav youth on the cultural map of the country as the real-existing social agency with authentic identity and a definite social location. The movement's 'poetics of the real' was youth's cultural weapon of choice in a struggle for meaningful socio-cultural presence in society and purposeful engagement with socio-cultural and political dimensions of Yugoslav socialist community. Thematizing and problematizing the urban as the focal point of individual and collective identity and experiences, *New Wave* offered Yugoslav youth's direct and unapologetic articulation of 'this is who we are', 'this is what we think' and 'this is what bothers us', demanding that its voices and experiences be taken as serious contributions to understanding and dealing with the realities of Yugoslav life.

VII. **_New Primitives_' 'poetics of the local' was rebellion against Yugoslavia's cultural hypocrisy**

The essence of *New Primitives* was prioritizing autochthon local identity and experience as the only legitimate foundation of one's individual and collective socio-cultural authenticity. The movement's 'poetics of the local' was a call to reject externally-imposed frames of reference and understanding as the basis for self-regard and self-cognition, and to embrace local consciousness as the beginning- and end-point of one's relationship to oneself and to the 'world out there'. The movement's celebration of the local was a powerful critique of the hypocrisy of Yugoslav socialist culture and its privileging of 'external-cosmopolitan' as apotheosis of cultured refinement and sophistication while denigrating 'local-parochial' as epitome of uncultured primitiveness. The struggle of *New Primitives*, therefore, was a struggle for socio-cultural awareness that the only way to be in and of the world was to be authentically 'primitive' — i.e. to exist as a distinct socio-cultural self.

VIII. **_New Partisans_' 'poetics of the patriotic' was articulation of socio-political resistance to the national disintegration of Yugoslav community in crisis**

At the root of *New Partisans' praxis* was militant Yugoslavism as a counter-logic to the dissolution of distinctly Yugoslav fabric of socialist community in crisis. Thus, the movement's revolutionary 'spirit of reconstruction' permeating its 'poetics of the patriotic' was a mechanism of socio-cultural resistance to political, cultural and moral-ethical de-Yugoslavization of Yugoslav society. The principal point of *New Partisans'* socio-cultural engagement was to impress upon the country's *conscience collectif* that rebuilding of the dissolving Yugoslav space and the possibility of its re-Yugoslavization was crucially tied to two distinct combat strategies: (1) spiritual re-enchantment through reintroduction of cultural and moral-ethical principles of the World-War II revolutionary Partisan tradition; and (2) a radical redrawing of the country's political field so as to enable non-confrontational existence of multiple political voices. Thus, as far as *New Partisans* were concerned the way into the future — if there was to be any — rested on strategic reanimation of the past.

IX. **Yugoslav rock'n'roll was youth's cultural weapon in the struggle for self-affirmation and socio-cultural visibility in Yugoslav socialist community**

The music movements of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* were popular-cultural means of the most articulate and critically aware segments of Yugoslav youth making its mark in Yugoslav socialist community and asserting itself as its meaningful collective constituent. The critique offered through 'poetics of the real', 'poetics of the local' and 'poetics of the patriotic' was both youth's manifesto on Yugoslav society and a demand for participatory inclusion into its public life. The underlying premise of Yugoslav 'music of commitment' was articulation of youth's sentiment that 'we are here', 'we exist', 'we have something to say', and 'we want to be heard' — that is, 'we want in'. Its end-point was broadening of Yugoslavia's socio-cultural field and incorporation of the 'voices from the margin'.

X. **Ultimately, the engagement of Yugoslav rock-music was a commitment to an ideal of genuine socialist-humanist society**

In the last instance, the *praxis* of Yugoslav rock'n'roll as 'music of commitment' was a struggle to realize the country's self-proclaimed ideal of a genuine socialist-humanist community. The aim of socio-cultural critique offered through the poetics of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* was not to tear down, but to help construct a society 'in the true measure of man'. In this context, dealing with anomalies of Yugoslav social, cultural and political realities required a strategy of registering and revealing discrepancies between the proclaimed and the real-existing that stood in a way of achieving the desired goal. Fundamentally, critical engagement of Yugoslav rock'n'roll was a proclamation of 'committedly for' rather than 'dispassionately — and despisingly — against' stance towards Yugoslav society.

Who's That Singing over There? is about exploring these ten propositions through a historical-sociological research framework and offering an interpretive understanding of the substance of Yugoslav rock'n'roll as a kind of popular-cultural consciousness, a form of engagement, and a type of *praxis*.

Of course, full appreciation of Yugoslav rock-music is impossible without understanding the basic parameters of Yugoslav society itself. Thus, the project's starting point is to provide what I call a 'minimalist political/cultural contextualization' as necessary background for situating rock'n'roll within Yugoslavia's general socio-cultural fabric. This setup is premised on the notion that post-World War II Yugoslavia was about building a distinct 'imagined ideological community' whose essence was shaped by three foundational elements: *regime-strategies*, *new socialist culture*, and *new socialist man*. *Regime-strategies* is a conceptual shorthand for different modes of political governance whose strategic purpose is weaving a particular socio-political fabric of post-World War II Yugoslavia. *New socialist culture* refers to the socio-cultural implication(s) of *regime-strategies* and the ways in which political governance of Yugoslav socialist community translates itself into a project of national cultural defining and distilling of Yugoslav cultural identity. *New socialist man* is an umbrella concept for individual and collective forms of self-awareness resulting from embedding — through direct(ed) socialization — the parameters of Yugoslav project of national cultural defining within the consciousness of the country's social(ist) agency. Thus, understanding the essence of Yugoslavia as a particular type of socialist ideological community rests on understanding the ways in which *regime-strategies*, *new socialist culture*, and *new socialist man* figured in defining and delimiting the country's socio-political and socio-cultural foundations. This precisely is the aim of offering the 'minimalist political/cultural setup'.

What must be kept in mind as central to the project is that the setup is about explaining the *idea* of Yugoslavia — that is, coming to terms with a *particular type of social imagination* about Yugoslav society built on the assumptions of dominant political and cultural ideology. Therefore, if the setup does not offer much in a way of explaining how things actually worked in socialist Yugoslavia, that is because it is not meant to do so — at least not in any comprehensive fashion. Its purpose, again, is to outline what the socialist community of Yugoslavia was *supposed to be* all about and how it was to be conjured up as an *imagined ideological community*. This is crucially important because investigating Yugoslav rock-music as a socio-cultural critique of Yugoslav society means understanding that the *praxis* of rock'n'roll was, in the end, animated by the *idea* (or, to put it slightly differently, ideological model) of Yugoslavia, and that the essence of that *praxis* was critiquing the real-existing societal anomalies as obstacles to putting the idea of Yugoslavia into full-fledged practice (see thesis X above). Of course, the belief in the idea of Yugoslavia by no means implied blind faith in political and cultural ideology of Yugoslav society — quite the contrary, its premise was a fundamentally critical stance towards it; but what it did imply was the notion that the problems of Yugoslav political and cultural ideology could be resolved within the existing societal framework, and that, once resolved, the idea of Yugoslavia as genuine socialist-humanist community could come to a full practical fruition. And this critical commitment to the idea of Yugoslavia as a socialist-humanist community is the essence of the *praxis* of Yugoslav rock'n'roll and, therefore, the focal point of the project's investigative concerns.

The presentation of *Who's That Singing over There?* is organized into eight chapters. The starting point, as already noted, is an exploration of the idea of socialist Yugoslavia by focusing on the key ingredients of its political and cultural ideology. Thus, central to Chapter 2 is a discussion of two foundational dynamics of Yugoslav 'imagined ideological community': the culture of politics (or, in practical terms, specific political *regime-strategies*), and politics of culture (i.e. the projects of *new socialist culture*[3] and *new socialist man*). The aim is to understand the nature of interrelationship between the two and explain the ways in which specific political and cultural practices translated into a particular socio-political and socio-cultural vision of the Yugoslav socialist community.

Building on the insights of Chapter 2, Chapter 3 explores (the problems of) the relationship between new socialist culture, Yugoslav youth and popular culture. In particular, the chapter's objective is to explore in some detail the philosophical-ideological assumptions behind Yugoslavia's cultural model of national defining and to examine its difficult relationship with the realities of Yugoslav youth and the newly-emerging popular culture in the mid-to-late 1970's. The latter is explored in terms of two particular types of discovery — the discovery of youth, and the discovery of rock'n'roll — and the practices of socio-cultural management that these discoveries (and particularly discovery or rock'n'roll) brought about. In exploring these, the aim of Chapter 3 is to set up general cultural parameters for situating and understanding rock-music and its central importance as a major popular-cultural force in Yugoslav society.

The central preoccupation in Chapter 4 is the 'substantive turn' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll — that is, a transformative journey of rock-music from its initial form as

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[3] As will be explored in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the *new socialist culture* was the principal foundation for building a particular form of cultural experience grounded in a *Yugoslav* cultural point of reference. Thus, what became known as 'Yugoslav culture' was, essentially, the cultural vision for the country designed by the Yugoslav socialist leadership and employed in the context of the project of national cultural defining. In short, Yugoslav culture was the official cultural project of the Yugoslav state, aiming to establish itself as *the* culture of entire Yugoslavia. As such, it was a perpetual project-in-the-making, never fully and definitively realized (although present to a significant degree as part of the national cultural imagination) and in competition with diverse cultural experiences of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities (see, for example, Matvejević 1977). In a practical sense (and despite the official intent), Yugoslav culture was one of many cultural options offered to the country's population and a cultural vision that lost to the competing nationalist forms of culture constructed and mobilized in the context of the late-1980's de-Yugoslavization of the country's cultural space which led to the ultimate breakup of socialist Yugoslavia in 1991. Although the tensions between the Yugoslav cultural vision and the competing conceptions of nationalism(s) are considered as part of a discussion in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, the project does not attempt to provide an in-depth analysis of these issues or cite the immense literature relating to them.

'substance of style' to its final incarnation as 'style of substance'. This is explored by discussing the four phases in the history of rock'n'roll's development in Yugoslav society, and explaining particular causal cultural forces of the 'substantive turn'. The chapter's principal objective is to offer an understanding of the 'substantive turn' as a point-of-no-return for Yugoslav rock-music and a moment in which rock'n'roll is transformed into 'music of commitment', i.e. a particular type of critical socio-cultural *praxis*. Thus, Chapter 4 sets the stage for discussing the music movements of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* as specific incarnations of 'music of commitment'.

The focus of Chapter 5 is *New Wave*'s poetics of the patriotic and its articulation of 'new urban spirit' as a form of socio-cultural critique. This is discussed by examining three principal rock-scenes — Ljubljana (Slovenia), Zagreb (Croatia), and Belgrade (Serbia) — and assessing their respective contributions to development of *New Wave* as a music platform that provides urban youth with a popular-cultural 'weapon' in the struggle for self-expression and self-affirmation within Yugoslav society. Thus, the chapter's aim is to demonstrate the instrumental importance of the *New Wave* music movement in forging a radically new relationship between Yugoslavia's official society and youth as an active(ly engaged) socio-cultural agency in Yugoslav socialist community.

Chapter 6 discusses the *New Primitives* and its poetics of the local. The chapter's focal point is explaining the movement's particular type of socio-cultural critique as a struggle against the cultural hypocrisy of Yugoslavia's new socialist culture, and as an attempt to assert local cultural authenticity as the only legitimate way of engaging with a larger society and the 'world out there'. In this context, particular attention is given to *New Primitives*' militant Sarajevism and militant Yugoslavism as two crucial tactics in forging the movement's *praxis* of socio-cultural interventionism. In discussing these, the overall aim of Chapter 6 is to understand *New Primitives* and its poetics of the local as a continuation and extension of *New Wave*'s commitment to critical engagement with Yugoslav society.

Chapter 7 focuses on *New Partisans* as the final incarnation of Yugoslav rock'n'roll as 'music of commitment'. Specifically, the discussion is centered on understanding the movement's poetics of the patriotic as a critical appropriation and redeployment of *New Primitives*' militant Yugoslavism as a strategy of revolutionary resistance to ethno-nationalist disintegration of the Yugoslav socialist community. Overall, the aim of Chapter 7 is to consider the *New Partisans*' poetics of the patriotic as the most radical form of socio-cultural critique offered by Yugoslav rock-music and, in the end, the most forceful translation of the notion of social engagement into a committed socio-cultural *praxis*.

The project's final chapter will tie the analysis together by unpacking sociological issues from the historiographic narrative about Yugoslav rock-music and its relationship to Yugoslav society. The focus of the chapter will be on recasting the music of commitment as an emergent cultural form within the general cultural process, using Raymond Williams' distinction between dominant, emergent and residual culture (Williams 1977). In its closing part, the chapter will briefly consider the post-Yugoslav legacy of the music of commitment.

In pursuing all these themes *Who's That Singing over There?* aims to explore the nature of Yugoslav rock-music in the period of late-1970's to late-1980's and offer an interpretive understanding of its importance as 'music of commitment' in terms of its critical relationship to cultural and political realities of socialist Yugoslavia. More specifically, the intent is to provide a hermeneutic historical description of the perspectives of the *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* socio-cultural agents that contributed to the formation of an emergent cultural form whose standpoint was that of an engagement with, and an aid to, resolving the problematic limitations of the official culture of Yugoslav society (even though, retrospectively, it appears that such possibilities were doomed from the outset (see, for example, Wachtel 1998)). These are both the beginning- and end-point of the project's research and investigative concerns, and the framework that delimits the scope of sociological interpretation the work ultimately offers. Thus *Who's That Singing over There?* is not a detailed and all-encompassing historiography of Yugoslav society which pretends to offer a historical 'master narrative' about all cultural, political and economic complexities during its existence. *Who's That Singing over There?* is also not about comprehensive cataloguing of Yugoslav rock-music in the form of an inventory of the most important rock'n'roll bands and performers. As well, *Who's That Singing over There?* is not a work in sociological theory and does not pretend to offer an in-depth theorization of Yugoslav rock-music, not does it pretend to 'fit' the realities of rock'n'roll in Yugoslav society within the existing conceptual/theoretical frameworks that deal with Western popular culture and music. And finally, *Who's That Singing over There?* is not a case-study research whose objective is to validate the general sociological insights about social or political movements and their place and role in society, and in so doing offer, from the 'periphery of sociological reach', yet another confirmation of the soundness and correctness of universal sociological hypotheses and claims.

In many crucial respects, *Who's That Singing over There?* is a 'sociological universe' of its own that uses valuable conceptual, theoretical and methodological tools of historical sociology to investigate an area that has, so far, remained outside the explicit interests of historical and/or sociological research and analysis. Thus the project for the most part wades through uncharted waters and, in examining its own problematic, seeks to unearth something that has been left untouched under the dust of the most recent gallop of Western historical and sociological curiosity through the 'puzzle of Yugoslavia', revealing it as a memento that matters not only in terms of Yugoslavia's past but also — and perhaps more importantly — in terms of the post-Yugoslav future.

Who's That Singing over There?*: The Method of Discovery*

The principal difficulty with tackling a new area, of course, is absence of a body of literature for grounding and orienting the research 'horizons'. In the case of *Who's That Singing over There?* the problem is doubly present in that neither English-language nor local literature offer much by way of systematic sociological consideration and treatment of Yugoslav popular culture and rock-music. In terms of English resources, the issues have been accorded peripheral status in comparison to analyses of economic and political aspects of Yugoslav society, and what is available is offered mostly as individual (and relatively marginal) chapters in the books that are principally about something other than Yugoslav popular culture and rock-music, or as occasional disembodied articles in sociological and historical journals. The situation with local resources is even more grave because the issues of popular culture and music had never been given their fair research share and were marginalized due to their perceived 'light-and-fluff' status by 'serious' researchers and analysts. Thus, the little that is available on the subject is episodic, fragmented and incomplete.

Relevant Literature

As far as English-language literature goes, the treatment of cultural dimension of Yugoslav society has been minimal, certainly when compared to voluminous literature on the intricacies of Yugoslavia's political and economic realities and their assessment in terms of the central concern with the violent breakup of the country. When dealt with, Yugoslav culture has been considered within the framework of the very same concern and with a focus on explaining the 'national question' and associated ethnically-grounded tensions and conflicts as rooted in the political impotency of Yugoslavia's leadership to negotiate multiple ethnic demands and pressures. Very few (if any) studies, however, went beyond this and explored the issue of Yugoslav popular culture, or offered analysis of cultural expressions that developed as a critical response to the official model of new socialist culture; this simply remained outside of most research interests within Western scholarship.

Thus, the existing English-language literature on Yugoslav culture that bears some relevance to the project is focused overwhelmingly on the state-official culture relationship and different aspects of the problems of symbiosis between political governance and cultural policy; only very few works offer a glimpse into the popular culture — and, especially, popular music — of Yugoslav society. The work by Koštunica and Čavoški (1985) deals with the formative stage of Yugoslav political system and the problems of formulating different dimensions of a political/institutional framework of the new socialist Yugoslavia. The book is relevant in that it provides a window into the early conceptions of the relationship between the Yugoslav state and society's social sphere, and, in particular, the place and role of diverse cultural expressions in the new socialist community. *Political Cohesion in a Fragile Mosaic: The Yugoslav Experience* (Cohen and Warwick 1983) deals with

Yugoslavia and the problem of cultural incorporation in a multi-cultural state. Of particular importance for *Who's That Singing over There?* is the book's investigation of different *regime-strategies* as particular political modes of managing the multifaceted cultural dynamics of Yugoslav society, and, specifically, the valuable analytical insights into the changing nature of the relationship between the two in the period of 1943-1983. An edited volume *State-Society Relations in Yugoslavia, 1945-1992* (Bokovoy, Irvine and Lilly 1997b) investigates the building of new socialist Yugoslavia from the viewpoint of legitimizing its political/ideological structures and processes. Thus the book is, on the one hand, about understanding the role of the state in the process of (re)generating Yugoslav civil society in terms of its crucial socio-cultural institutions and agencies, and, on the other, about grasping the latter's role in the process of defining the socio-cultural foundation(s) of the country. In this the volume adds an additional layer to Cohen and Warwick's insights about the changing nature of the relationship between political ideology and cultural experiences of socialist Yugoslavia. Majstorović's work *Cultural Policy in Yugoslavia* (1972) looks at specific policy issues around Yugoslav state's active role in shaping the course of cultural life of the country. The analysis offered is a complement to Bokovoy *et al.*'s volume in that, in treading the same ground, it provides valuable insights into the practical aspects of the state-led socio-cultural developments in post-World War II Yugoslavia (such as, institutional setup, decision-making processes, funding and patronage of cultural events and activities, cultural socialization etc.).

Out of the exceptionally small pool of English resources that consider Yugoslavia's social life from a (popular) cultural viewpoint, Sabrina Ramet's work is certainly the most valuable. Her *Yugoslavia in the 1980s* (Ramet 1985b) is a collection of articles that takes pulse of the socio-cultural well-being of the post-Tito Yugoslavia, and provides an excellent resource for understanding different institutional and policy dimensions of the country's cultural climate in the first half of 1980s. Particularly valuable is the notion of *apocalypse culture* as an umbrella concept used to denote the state of 'cultural brooding' over emerging social, political and economic challenges of the time. Another work, *Balkan Babel* (Ramet 1999) is highly useful for understanding the social history of Yugoslavia and grasping the processes involved in the violent breakup of the country in the summer of 1991. What makes *Balkan Babel* exceptionally valuable for *Who's That Singing over There?* is that it is mindful of cultural dynamics of Yugoslav society and that it considers them outside of the usual conflict-based ethno-nationalist framework (Crnobrnja's *The Yugoslav Drama* (1996) shares the same quality). In addition, Ramet's work has extra importance in being the first constructive effort at analysis of Yugoslav popular culture and popular music, and in offering valuable reflections regarding their critical place and role within the general cultural fabric of Yugoslav society. Her contributions to an edited volume *Rocking the State* (Ramet 1994) are particularly significant in this regard.

Finally, the work that certainly needs to be mentioned is *The Culture of Power in Serbia* by Eric Gordy (1999). The book is a pioneer analysis of the symbiosis of politics and popular-cultural music genre of *turbo-folk* as a strategy of legitimating a particular political vision and order in the post-Yugoslav Serbia. Although not directly related to the problematic of *Who's That Singing over There?*, Gordy's work is nonetheless very important because it provides crucial insights into the nature and 'logic' of popular music as a politically consequential cultural force and a means of remolding the popular *conscience collectif* for a specific political end. Thus, the significance of Gordy's treatment of *turbo-folk* rests in understanding the political nature of music in the non-Western socio-cultural and political *milieu* — something that is also part of the analysis of *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans* pursued by this project.

In terms of local literature on Yugoslavia's popular culture and rock-music, the situation is as dire as it is with English offerings: the tally of all the resources ever published is one sociological study and a handful of popular books on urban culture and rock-music. The only official sociological study of Yugoslav rock'n'roll is a long-out-of-print-and-unavailable book called *Rok kultura u izazovu*, written by a young sociologist Dinko Kulić. In many respects, Kulić's analysis is an academic complement to Yugoslav society's 'discoveries' of youth and, especially, rock'n'roll in the mid-1970's and the ensuing public debate on 'what to do?' and 'how to think?' about this new popular-cultural phenomenon. The books that tried to provide popular-cultural critical reflections and responses to the issues surrounding the debate are, firstly, *Punk pod slovenci* and, secondly, *PUNK*. *Punk pod slovenci* (Maleckar and Mastnak 1985) is a collection of articles and debates, published mostly in popular press, that deal with the problem of Punk-music phenomenon in Slovenia. The book is significant in that it casts light on the official and public reaction(s) to the appearance of *New Wave*'s precursor in the most Western(ized) Yugoslav republic, and, as such, provides a useful 'psychological profile' of the country's official cultural experts and their take on the new popular-cultural trend(s) in Yugoslav culture. Darko Glavan's *PUNK* (1980b) delves on the subject of British Punk and early European *New Wave* and is a local interpretation of the external influences that got incorporated into the music and stylistic expressions of Yugoslav *New Wave* and, to a degree, *New Primitives*. The book's primary usefulness is in providing insights into interpretive understanding and cultural appropriation of foreign popular-cultural developments and their local(ized) incorporations within the new sphere of rock'n'roll.

In addition to these, a couple of books published in the 1980's deal explicitly with the new cultural phenomena of *New Wave* and *New Primitives*, aiming at both documenting the movements and contextualizing them within general popular-cultural developments in Yugoslav society. The first one, *Drugom stranom* by David Albahari and collaborators (Albahari, Janjatović and Kremer 1983) is indispensable as the documentary record of Yugoslav *New Wave*. The almanac is a collection of visual images, important lyrics, and critical reflections on the country's burgeoning popular-cultural/rock-scene in the early 1980's, and is by all measures the most important resource on *New Wave* ever published in Yugoslavia. The second book, an unsigned collaborative anthology *Sarajevski New Primitivs*, is the principal resource on the *New Primitives* movement. The work uses a sort of a 'who's who in *New Primitives*' approach to present the movement's most important names and to catalogue the projects produced within — and closely or remotely related to — Sarajevo's vibrant 'new-primitive' cultural scene. The book is also significant in that it provides some of the best attempts at reflecting critically on the movement's socio-cultural significance at the time of its happening; as well, the book's two appendices provide the most comprehensive bibliography on *New Primitives* in terms of the published press articles and the 'new-primitive' works produced (such as, films, music, theatre plays, paintings, etc.), and — as a general background — valuable chronology of the changing socio-political climate in Yugoslavia in the second half of 1980's.

The last kind of local resources available offers a more reflective stocktaking of Yugoslavia's popular-cultural legacy, aiming primarily to preserve (what was first sensed and shortly thereafter directly experienced as) the 'vanishing cultural memory' of the 'Yugoslav Atlantis'. Published at the country's twilight, *Bolja prošlost* by Petar Luković (1989b) is a collection of interviews with the most relevant music-industry people (musicians, managers, show-business personalities, etc.) in socialist Yugoslavia. Through a series of personal recollections and reflections the book offers valuable insider's perspective on the nature and practice of socialist music — and cultural — business, and reveals much about the state-popular culture relationship, the issues of selection and censorship of music repertoire, the understandings regarding the role and functions of musicians as public cultural figures, etc. *Fatalni ringišpil* (1999) by Aleksandar Žikić is a chronicle of the early rock'n'roll scene in the Yugoslav capital of Belgrade and a valuable reflection on the initial existence of rock-music in socialist Yugoslavia. The book has an added value as a statement of local normative attitudes about 'true' rock'n'roll versus rock-music 'trash'. Igor Mirković's monograph *Sretno dijete* (2004a) — a complement to his important documentary of the same title — is an insightful personalized recapturing of, primarily, Zagreb's *New Wave* rock-scene. Its principal usefulness in terms of *Who's That Singing over There?* rests in detailing larger socio-cultural and, to a degree, political trends surrounding the phenomenon of *New Wave*. Petar Janjatović's anthology *Pesme bratstva i detinjstva* (1993) is a comprehensive collection of the most important rock-poetry produced in the more recent Yugoslav history, including some of the key lyrics of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans*. Apart from functioning as Yugoslav rock'n'roll's lyrical keepsake, the value of anthology is in implicitly reflecting on the importance of lyrics in the context of popular-cultural form of rock-music and on the functioning of — and the perceptual difference between — rock-lyrics as a form of poetry as opposed to an explicit 'musically charged' message. Finally, two encyclopedias and one 'archeological catalogue' of rock-music's early years — Radaković's *Mala enciklopedija hrvatske* *pop i rock glazbe* (1994), Janjatović's *Ilustrovana YU rock enciklopedija* (1998), and Škarica's *Kad je rock bio mlad* (2005) — are highly valuable factographic resources on the history of Yugoslav pop- and rock-music and, in terms of the encyclopedias in particular, the key names of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans*. The same goes for a biography of one of the most important *New Wave* bands *Prljavo kazalište* (Glavan and Horvat 2000), and two publications *Fantom slobode* (Horvat 2005) and *Prilozi za biografiju Johnnyja B. Štulića* (Petrinović 2006) on the leader of *New Wave* band *Azra* Branimir Štulić.

Although, with one notable exception, academic scholarship has completely ignored the developments on Yugoslav popular-cultural scene, a wide variety of popular press was at the forefront of documenting, defining, analyzing and problematizing anything even remotely related to the new urban culture and rock-music. Thus it is Yugoslav popular press that provides by far the most detailed and comprehensive insights into the music movements of *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans*, and the wider socio-cultural realities of the period. Particularly important in this regard is a fairly widespread and well circulated network of the student press, extending to the most important urban areas of Yugoslavia (such as Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Novi Sad, Rijeka, Skoplje, etc.) and with a dynamic and overwhelmingly progressive university-oriented readership: student weeklies such as *Polet* (*The Élan*), *Studentski list* (*The Student Paper*), *Naši dani* (*Our Days*), *Omladinske novine* (*The Youth Newspapers)* and *Mladina* (*The Youth*) served as public outlets for delivering the ideas and socio-cultural attitudes of the 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll in a language and style that both defined and reflected the new spirit of urban youth avant-garde. In addition to the student press, the more specialized pop-culture and rock-music press was crucial in popularizing the ideas and principles of the *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* through a detailed coverage of movements' leading individuals and bands, and a sustained interest in their music and message. With their treatment of rock-music as a serious matter of consequence for Yugoslavia's culture, the national music magazines such as *Džuboks* (*The Jukebox*) and *Rock* (later on *Pop-rock*) communicated an important attitude to their readers and to society that Yugoslav rock'n'roll was much more than music, and that therefore it should be contemplated within broader socio-cultural trends and developments — i.e. in terms of its larger socio-cultural impact and effect. The latter was to a significant degree taken up by 'serious' mainstream national dailies and weeklies (such as *Politika* (*Politics*), *Oslobođenje* (*The Liberation*), *Borba* (*The Struggle*), *Vijesnik* (*The Messenger*), *ZUM Reporter* (*The Reporter)*, *Intervju* (*Interview*), *Start* (*Start*), *NIN* (abbreviation for *The Weekly Informative Newspaper*)) that wrote about rock-music and popular culture principally in terms of their socio-cultural and political-ideological influence on Yugoslav society, and problematized their national standing in relation to the existing societal order of the day. In doing this, they effectively elevated Yugoslav rock'n'roll from its initial status as a popular-cultural phenomenon to a position of serious public issue and a constant in the country's national cultural discourse. Ultimately, what the above points to is that the real records of the socio-cultural existence of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* in Yugoslav society — and, therefore, the most important primary resources — are the pages of the country's student press, pop-culture and rock-music magazines, and mainstream national dailies and weeklies of the time; more broadly, it also suggests that the real basis of a(ny) research aiming to understand the problematic of Yugoslav rock-music and popular culture has to be built on their close and detailed examination and assessment. This, in addition to the general research objectives already discussed, is one of the key premises of the methodological foundation of the project.

Research Methodology

At the very beginning of the chapter, *Who's That Singing over There?* is qualified as a work in historical sociology, i.e. the type of research that runs on a historical engine but is propelled by a sociological fuel. What is meant by this are two things: first, that the analysis aims to answer the questions that are sociological in nature through the historically grounded type of investigation; and second, that in researching the problematic at hand the analysis relies on sociology for conceptual framing of its findings while using history's sense for empirical detail as the basis for analytical narrative through which these findings are presented. Together, these two are the linchpins of the work's methodological end-point — interpretive understanding of the *New Wave*, *New Partisans* and *New Primitives* music movements as the forms of socio-cultural critique in Yugoslav socialist community.

Overall, the research design of the project rests on what John R. Hall calls a particularizing practice of inquiry, that is, 'a comprehensive analysis of a single object of inquiry' (Hall 1999: 4). Its starting point is the historicist assumption about the uniqueness of Yugoslav case and the notion that the research problematic at hand can be treated meaningfully only if considered in its own right, as the 'special case' that — because of the unique nature of Yugoslav socialist society — does not have an obvious socio-historical correlative and therefore does not lend itself to a comparative socio-historical investigation. Thus the aim of the project is to construct a detailed historiography of the origin, genesis, and unique character of Yugoslav rock-music in terms of its relationship to the official society. This will be done by drawing on empirical historical evidence as the foundation for recapturing the past and on selective sociological vocabulary as the basis for organizing and directing the historical narrative through which that past is reconstructed and interpretatively explained. Hall would qualify this type of particularizing practice of inquiry as historicism (see Hall 1999: 220-8).

The methodological foundation of *Who's That Singing over There?* is built on particular 'techniques of inquiry' as the procedures that underlie the project's research design: research strategy, research sources, method of investigation, and form of analysis. The project's principal research strategy is archival research and investigation of available historical data in the form of primary resources; in addition, the survey of existing secondary literature is used as a complement to the analysis of available primary resources. Consequently, the project's primary research sources consist of archived 'historical traces' left in the popular press of the period as documentary evidence of the past, and the music recordings of *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans*; the additional secondary resources are derived from the sparse local and English-language literature on Yugoslav (popular) culture and rock-music. The principal method of investigation employed is identification and collection of relevant historical materials through mining of local library archives, gathering of pertinent music recordings, and survey of secondary resources; the form of analysis used to examine the resources is qualitative interpretation of primary and secondary resources through their 'close inductive reading'. Together, these four procedures ground the project's research methodology.

One of the most challenging initial steps was delimiting the scope of primary resources to be gathered as the basis for research and analysis. Here, informal conversations with individuals who were part of Yugoslavia's popular-cultural scene as either its chroniclers or direct participants proved to be of indispensable value, for they provided a sense of where to turn to and what to look for. Petar Janjatović's help of selflessly offering the initial guidance and valuable contact resources was undoubtedly most significant in this regard. Overall, some 25 individuals were consulted about the project.

The second challenge, after setting up the research direction and scope, was locating and accessing the primary resources in the archives of local libraries. Because of the recent war and everything that followed it, some libraries had been completely destroyed, some had been purged of parts of their catalogue, and some, although intact, turned to be less than ideal for expedient archival research. Despite all of this, however, the *Narodna Biblioteka* (*Peoples Library*) in the former Yugoslav capital of Belgrade proved to provide a wealth of resources in terms of the written historical records of the 1970's and 1980's, housing much of the needed student press, pop-culture and rock-music magazines, and mainstream national dailies and weeklies. Its archive, therefore, was used as the principal research site for locating and collecting the primary resources for the project. Additionally, a portion of the materials was acquired from the personal collections of some of the people consulted about the project.

The final challenge regarding the primary resources was locating some of the music recordings needed for the research: the war of the 1990's had left the recording industry in shambles and the former national music market regionally divided (most record companies disintegrated and disappeared, and the ones that remained functional operated with greatly diminished capacity); some important music archives with original recording masters were irreplaceably destroyed, and some recordings were locked in the vaults for political-ideological reasons or, in some cases, re-released after heavy-handed editorial interventions. Fortunately, some of the needed recordings had been reissued and some circulated on the vibrant bootleg market in Belgrade. In addition, private record collections and the internet resources provided valuable supplements in compiling the music of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans*. In the course of time, more reissues of the most significant music output from 1970's and 1980's gradually began surfacing in local and on-line music stores.

In total, over 1,500 primary resources had been collected and used as the research basis for the project. All of them were processed individually and compiled into an EndNote data-base. In all likelihood, the data-base is one of the most unified and comprehensive reference catalogues on the subject of Yugoslav (popular) culture and rock-music, offering a pool of information on local materials of potentially considerable value to other scholars and researchers. As such, it is the resource whose usefulness extends beyond *Who's That Singing over There?*.

As already noted, the analysis of the project's research resources is based on qualitative interpretation through the 'close inductive reading', with the overall objective of grasping the wealth of empirical details the materials provided and then formulating the conceptual understanding of the larger and more general trends and relationships revealed through the interpretive reading. Thus the starting premise is not a search for historically-specific particulars as modalities that confirm the preconceived general process (construed as a theory or a model) but, rather, an understanding of unique composition of historically-specific particulars and their interpretation as singular — and singularly significant — socio-cultural occurrences. Principally, the methodological aim of the analysis is to formulate a theoretically informed idiographic explanation of the research problematic in the form of interpretive understanding and, in so doing, chart a beginning rather than an end of interpretive efforts to fully fathom *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans* as forms of socio-cultural critique of Yugoslav socialist community.

In specific terms (and this is where sociology becomes crucially important), the idiographic explanation offered by *Who's That Singing over There?* is premised on interpretive understanding of different socio-historical processes and practices that manifest themselves as distinct micro- and macro-realities of the socio-cultural and socio-political universe of Yugoslav socialist community. In constructing the general interpretive explanation, each historically-specific process and practice is distilled conceptually to its sociological substance and examined in terms of its fundamental properties and its essential — and interpretively relevant — interrelationships with other processes and/or practices. Thus, the strategy of explaining interpretively the project's problematic is built on several 'history-to-sociology translations' and on consideration of each as a crucial ingredient in the overall explanatory strategy:

- translation of the realities of political and cultural ideology of socialist Yugoslavia as regime-strategies, new socialist culture and new socialist man, and their interpretive explanation in terms of the foundational importance for a particular vision of socialist Yugoslavia as an imagined ideological community
- translation of the interplay between new socialist culture and Yugoslav popular culture in the mid-1970's as the 'discovery of youth' and the 'discovery of rock'n'roll', and their interpretive explanation in terms of the rising significance of popular culture and rock-music within the Yugoslav society's cultural fabric
- translation of the historical development of Yugoslav rock'n'roll as 'substantive turn' and interpretive explanation of its importance for the emergence of 'music of commitment' as an engaged form of socio-cultural *praxis*
- translation of the realities of new rock-music developments in the period of late-1970's to late-1980's as 'music movements' of *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans*, and their interpretive explanation as the forms of socio-cultural and socio-political critique built on poetics of the present
- translation of *New Wave*'s historical particularity as poetics of the real, and interpretive explanation of its radical socio-cultural impact on self-expression and self-affirmation of urban youth within Yugoslav socialist community
- translation of *New Primitives*' historical particularity as poetics of the local, and its interpretive explanation as a critical struggle for autochthon cultural authenticity within Yugoslav new socialist culture and the 'world out there'

- translation of *New Partisans'* historical particularity as poetics of the local, and its interpretive explanation as a revolutionary tactics in the struggle against national disintegration of Yugoslav socialist community

Within the general interpretive explanatory strategy, therefore, each of these is crucially important as an 'interpretive block' for building the overall ideographic explanation of the principal research problematic. Thus the explanation's soundness as an investigative end-point of the historical-sociological research journey of *Who's That Singing over There?* rests, in the end, on the cumulative interpretive power of all the steps taken along the way.

So welcome aboard and on we go.

CHAPTER 2

SFR Yugoslavia: The Politics of Culture / the Culture of Politics

The country that concerns us here is known in the local historiographic idiom as 'second Yugoslavia', or Socialist and Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (henceforth SFRY). The first Yugoslav state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (*Karaljevina SHS*), was a fairly short-lived enterprise (1918-1941) that fell apart at the beginning of the Balkan extension of World War II in the spring of 1941. The monarchical leadership capitulated to the German aggressor and fled abroad and the country was parceled out into several 'pseudo-states' run by local quisling regimes under the protectorate of occupying Nazi/Fascist forces. Formed officially in the late 1943, the second Yugoslavia was an incarnation of the principles and idea(l)s of local communist-led anti-Fascist struggle whose disposition was an antithesis to both the previous monarchical Yugoslavia and the local interim fascist-nationalist administrations. From its inception, the SFRY was promulgated as an egalitarian community of all South Slav nations and nationalities (*naroda i narodnosti*) based on the political dictum of what can be termed as radical socialist democracy enshrined in the principle of 'brotherhood and unity' (*brastvo-jedinstvo*) and its socio-cultural counterpart, 'freedom and equality' (*sloboda i ravnopravnost*). The new socialist Yugoslavia was modeled as a symbolic and practical dissociation from the authoritarian past of the first Yugoslavia and the virulent local nationalisms/fascisms of the 1941-1945 interval.

What I want to do in this opening part is to look at the main aspects of political/cultural dynamics of this second Yugoslavia and consider them in terms of their impact on shaping the country's socio-cultural course since 1945. I want to do this by treating two separate, but highly interrelated, processes: (1) the culture of politics, and (2) the politics of culture. What I mean by culture of politics is a dynamic of specific and changing modes of political governance (i.e. regime-strategies), especially in terms of how they translated into particular modes of socio-cultural management. By politics of culture I mean the specifics of Yugoslavia's project of cultural defining, i.e. the particular way(s) of conjuring the country's socialist cultural *praxis* as immanently political and in service of the aforementioned socio-cultural management. Grasping these is a necessary prerequisite for proper understanding and treatment of the popular dimension of Yugoslavia's cultural life and, more specifically, rock music as one of its incarnations — that is, for appreciating the developmental course, the place and the role of popular culture and rock-music within the overall cultural spectrum of SFRY.

Having said this, I wish to stress that my intention here is not to engage in detailed historical treatment of SFRY's political and/or cultural history from 1943 to 1991 (although the latter is conspicuously absent from the vast body of both Western and local literature on Yugoslavia and much scholarship still needs to be done), or to deal with the shifts and changes in SFRY's political/cultural policies in all their minute variations. Rather, my aim here is much more modest and limited in scope: to outline SFRY's regime-strategies and its cultural *praxis* in a manner detailed enough to provide a sufficient political/cultural background for what is to be treated in the chapters to follow and general enough to not overpower with all the intricate specifics of SFRY's political and cultural realities, no matter how crucially important in the context of full-fledged historical treatment. Instead of being an end onto itself, then, what follows in this chapter is but a means to an end, i.e. the minimalist political/cultural setup framed as a jumping off point for the exploration of the principal *problematique* of *Who's That Singing over There?*— Yugoslav rock-music as a form of social critique.

With this in mind let me first consider what I termed as Yugoslavia's culture of politics and then turn my attention to its counter-side, the politics of culture.

SFRY: Yugoslavia, the Second Time Around

As mentioned at the very outset, the local historiography of Yugoslav society is built around a narrative of two Yugoslavias: the first one forged during and officially formalized towards the end of World War I (1917), and the second forged during and officially formalized towards the end of World War II (1943). The first incarnation was a compromise between two main and often opposing visions of Yugoslav state and its framework: the unitarist-centralist, advocated by the Serbian government, and the anti-unitarist, or federalist, advocated by the Yugoslav committee (*Jugoslavenski odbor*) representing Yugoslavs (primarily Croats) from Austro-Hungarian territories (see Harapin 1988c). Central to the unitarist idea, represented most prominently by Nikola Pašić's Radical Party, was an argument that all South-Slavs capable of liberating themselves from foreign rule ought to be annexed into the Kingdom of Serbia, thus creating 'greater Serbia'. The members of the Yugoslav committee (the representative body headquartered in London), especially Ante Trumbić and Fran Supilo, argued, however, that Yugoslav state ought to be founded on a federalist principle and as a voluntary and free association of South-Slav states based on equal input and participation. Both ideas represented the views and interests of the respective national bourgeoisie and reflected the 'calculative merits' that can be drawn from such a union. In the end, the first Yugoslavia was officialized as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (*Kraljevina SHS*), thus embodying the unitarist vision of Serbian political forces to the significant neglect of the Croatian political counter-vision. This arrangement was to be the main source of political tension for the entire period of the country's existence.

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes fell apart when its royal ruling elite fled the country for the safety and security of London exile at the outbreak of

World War II in the Balkans. This left the country in a state of political chaos and opened up the space for various political forces that aimed to continue, reinvent, or simply abandon the initial national project. Overwhelmingly, the local struggle for the new political direction was militaristic rather than peaceful. Thus, the wartime of 1941-1945 was a time of two-front confrontation: the internal conflict among the competing militarized political forces, and the fight against foreign occupier(s). In some cases, the former involved the politics of collaboration with the occupying forces.

The victorious political force, and therefore the force in a position to decide on the character and shape of the future Yugoslav society, was the communist Partisans lead by Josip Broz Tito. His vision of the new society was that of a country freed from foreign 'imperialist forces and influences' and founded on the principles of socialist political governance and federalist political arrangement. This vision was officialized on November 29 of 1943, at the second Congress of the Antifascist Committee of Yugoslavia's Popular Liberation (*Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije*, or *AVNOJ*). The Committee was the formal institutional embodiment of the communist-Partisan forces and their political platform. According to the proclamation titled "The Decision about the Founding of Yugoslavia on the Federative Principle" (*Odluka o izgradnji Jugoslavije na federativnom principu*), the foundations of the new society were to be the following (see Harapin 1988b: 27):

1. The Antifascist Committee of Yugoslavia's Popular Liberation shall be the supreme legislative and executive body of Yugoslav peoples, and the supreme representative of the sovereignty of Yugoslav state and its peoples.
2. The founding principle of Yugoslav society shall be the right to self-determination (*samoopredjeljenje*), including the right to succession from or association with other nations.
3. Yugoslavia shall be a federalist society founded on the sovereignty of its peoples and the full equality of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins, that is, the peoples of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia & Herzegovina.

4. The federalist principle of Yugoslav association shall be based on the most comprehensive democratic rights of all peoples of Yugoslavia, represented by the bodies of popular power (*organi narodne vlasti*) of each nation and nationality within the Yugoslav state
5. Yugoslav national minorities shall be given full and all national rights

The new community was to be built as a democratic federation of its constitutive nations and nationalities based on the principles of full national equality animated by the socialist political, economic and cultural practice[4].

The most delicate task in the political *praxis* of second Yugoslavia proved to be the realization of full national equality. It was recognized that national equality was dependant on the degree of economic development in the respective national federal units and thus could only be actualized if overall economic equality was achieved first. As Harapin (1988a: 45) puts it:

> Constitutionally proclaimed national equality within a federation ... does not mean its actual realization, because the factor deciding the nature of relations among the nations is and continues to be the degree of development of the respective national entities [*entiteta*]. Crucial for Yugoslavia as a multinational community is to make sure that contrary interests of the developed and undeveloped parts of the country do not beget the character of inter-national conflicts and create the relations of economic inequality. Every time this is forgotten, federalism and national and class question will become contentious. This is so because, in the conditions of complex national structure, economic issues have the pronounced national-political aspect and weight. In other words, there cannot be true national equality without equal conditions for economic development of each nation and nationality.[5]

From this perspective, then, the entire political *praxis* of Yugoslav state can be best understood as an effort to come up with the most effective form of political governance that would, by providing conditions for equal economic development of each nation and nationality, forge a mechanism for national equality of all peoples and, thus, for the full realization of federalist and socialist democracy. It can also be understood as an attempt to reconcile the (politicized) socio-cultural and economic demands of the new state and society.

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[4] According to Milanović (1986a: 10), Yugoslavia was a country with 15 officially registered nations where education took place in 12 different languages, and where there was no territory with 50,000 inhabitants without members from all nations being present.

[5] Unless otherwise noted, all English translations of Serbo-Croatian sources are mine.

Enter the regime-strategies.

The Culture of Politics: Regime-Strategies

Overall, successful reconciliation of socio-cultural and economic demands and the building of the new state and society meant reconstituting soci(et)al landscape along the lines of a particular brand of socialism, often identified as Titoism. In addition, it meant remodeling the hitherto existing socio-cultural parameters and creating a new form of individual and collective self that would, imbued by the 'new socialist spirit', internalize the instituted social, political and economic parameters.[6] Thus, the central socio-cultural preoccupation of the post-World War II Yugoslavia was the construction of effective institutional mechanisms to carry on this project on long-term basis.[7]

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[6] Although the Yugoslav state, or the ideological-political apparatus of the country, was the principal coordinator and executor of this undertaking, its success depended on strategic alliances with various non-political forces in society. Of these, the cultural/intellectual establishment was deemed paramount because of the belief that the long term resocialization of Yugoslav citizen could succeed only insofar as the new socialist norms became legitimate aspects of the country's cultural/intellectual framework and thus, in due time, be assented to by the population at large. This resulted in an arrangement between the state and the socio-cultural institutions where various cultural expressions were officialized as the principal carriers of the 'new socialist spirit' and thereby decreed as central to the general life of society. Culture, in turn, came to be posited as a proactive artistic and intellectual force, and its contributions, because of their strategic importance, were celebrated as vitally important for the country's overall well-being. Far from being part of an economically-attuned cultural-industrial complex, thus, culture in the post-World War II Yugoslavia was the foundational aspects of *political-ideological* undertaking, bolstering the dominant political-ideological, rather than economic, exigencies.

It is important to note that Yugoslav brand of socialism was much more lax than that of any other East European country, and cultural endeavors and expressions enjoyed a significant degree of autonomy. Consequently, the principal regulatory mechanisms that informed cultural boundaries of the possible were self-administered by various cultural agents through internalized limits of the expressible rather than by officially sanctioned and enforced guidelines (as was the case in the USSR, for example). Absence of an omnipresent state-sanctioned committee for cultural correctness provided greater possibility for going, even if obliquely, beyond the boundaries of the possible and for using culture as a critical reflection on the social, political, and economic realities of Yugoslav life. The long-run impact of the interplay of these elements was the establishment of culture as an ideological-political signifier both in terms of official political demands and, more importantly, in terms of unofficial critical pronouncements. Overall, cultural expression in the socialist Yugoslavia figured as the vital socio-political resource for both the political state and the general public.

The new mode of political governance that was put to practice developed as an attempt to reconcile the two polarities of the new Yugoslav society: the political desire for a socialist order where the Party would have final say on what goes on in the society, and the recognition of the multi-national (or, in current terminology, multi-cultural) foundations of that society. Thus, the politics of the Yugoslav state revolved around specific strategies used to affirm and, ideally, reconcile society's mono-partyism and multi-nationalism. Their principal logic rested on the belief that the political success of a socialist form of governance depended on the existence of a socio-cultural *milieu* within which the cultural needs of all Yugoslav nations would be equally affirmed and given full expression. This translated into a cultural policy far removed from any attempt to suppress national specificities within the society and to replace them with an umbrella framework of Yugoslavism. The foundations of the cultural policy were, rather, grounded in the expectation that Yugoslavism, as a form of supra-national and civic identity, would be embraced as an affirmation of the *de facto* existing cultural-national equalities, realized within the newly created socio-political, and — equally important, economic[8] — space of the socialist Yugoslavia. Thus, the cultural priority of Yugoslav political *praxis* was centered on the different modes of managing and negotiating the complex web of cultural-national relations, informed by a desire for the full equality of cultural expressions and — through this

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[7] The inter-relationship between conceptualization and development of cultural and political dynamics of the day is evident in the following observation by Matvejević:

> After the war we have passed through several … interconnections between culture and politics. There is, in this respect, certain parallelism between politics and culture. In times when - because of heavy inter-national dissociations and conflicts - a certain form of centralism happened to be partly a necessity and partly a duty to follow the Soviet model, the convergence of cultural factors was strongly emphasized. Not for a moment was the right of each nation to have its national culture brought into question, but there was a stronger emphasis placed on all-Yugoslav cultural orientation. (Matvejević 1977: 8)

[8] It was recognized, as we have seen, that cultural equality rests on the equality of economic development within the country and, in particular, on the need for the economically disadvantaged parts (such as, Macedonia and Kosovo) to be brought up to the levels of economic development characteristic of the 'Western' republics (i.e., Slovenia and Croatia). As Harapin writes, "there is no true national equality without the equal conditions for economic development of all [Yugoslav] nations and nationalities" (Harapin 1988a: 45).

— for the affirmation of the established political norms and, ultimately, the country's political regime.

In concrete terms, then, the history of the post-World War II Yugoslav political *praxis* can be best framed as a succession of *regime-strategies* (i.e. modes of political management and negotiation of cultural/national diversity): *revolutionary fusion* (1945-1950), *evolutionary merger* (1951-1962), *pluralist socialism* (1963-1972), and *pragmatic consolidation* (1973-1991).[9] The first two regime-strategies are specific variants of the general management strategy of *syncretic amalgamation*, whose defining feature is "an attempt to dilute and eradicate existing cultural identities through the creation of completely new bonds or cases of collective solidarity[,] involv[ing] relatively high levels of governmental intervention in societal relations as a means [to] transcend existing group loyalties" (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 11). Specific for the first regime-strategy of *revolutionary fusion*, in this context, is an expectation that the existing cultural identities will be suppressed by the bonds grounded in a form of working class consciousness. As Cohen and Warwick put it:

> this strategy seeks to utilize or engender bonds deriving from class consciousness to supplant existing group loyalties which the regime's ideology alleges to be parochial and retrograde in terms of the "inexorable laws" of historical development. This strategy is based upon the elite expectation that a combination of rapid politically-induced economic development and energetic social engineering can supercede prerevolutionary group loyalties relatively quickly. (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 11)

Evolutionary merger, as the second variant of *syncretic amalgamation*, involves the same elements found in the regime-strategy of *revolutionary fusion*, now operative in the post-revolutionary phase of soci(et)al development:

> Generally this approach is characteristic of post-revolutionary leftist regimes which cannot, or no longer wish to maintain the rapid tempo and costs of change borne during the mobilization stage of political development. Having failed to fundamentally alter the pattern of traditional group loyalties (ethnic, religious, sectional, etc.) despite tremendous material and

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[9] The framework used here draws upon the work by Cohen and Warwick (1983) — a highly useful treatise on Yugoslavia and the relationship between politics and culture. Presented here is an adapted version of their work to include the period from the late 1970s to the early 1990s.

> human costs, the leadership now adopts an evolutionary strategy to achieve the same "revolutionary" goals. The most blatantly coercive sanctions and "utopian" normative appeals are replaced by more persuasive appeals and material incentives. The expectation still remains that traditional cultural ties will eventually decay as a result of modernization, but it is acknowledged that this will be a very extended and gradual process. … The cultivation and even "flowering" of old cultural forms and practices is tolerated, although the overt politicization of such cultural bonds is still frowned upon and often sharply repressed by the central agencies of the party and the state. (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 12)

The third regime-strategy of *pluralist socialism* is a variant of the general management strategy of *pluralist accommodation* and of its defining feature of even greater toleration and encouragement of traditional cultural bonds and practices along the lines of cultural pluralism. Central to *pluralist accommodation*, thus, are the strategies whereby "[t]he rulers of political system seek to provide adequate procedures for the resolution or adjustment of inter group conflicts and the accommodation of divergent group interests rather than government-sponsored programs for the transformation or standardization of cultural values" (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 13). In this context, particular to the regime-strategy of *pluralist socialism* is the recognition that

> deep cultural diversity and the conflicts which it engenders are not considered incompatible with socialist development …, and there is little expectation that anything can or should be done in the immediate future to eliminate sub-cultural differentiations. Stress is placed on the development of institutions for the "harmonization" and "coordination" of divergent group interests through a more open expression and confrontation of differences[.] (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 14)

As such, *pluralist socialism* is the regime strategy of more liberal socialist societies whose primary political tactics revolve around attempts to reconcile the officially sanctioned political monism and cultural/national pluralism. As Cohen and Warwick observe,

> pluralist socialism presupposes a more decentralized socialist state in which the single party, although still having a

> monopoly over the adoption of all significant public policies, plays a less direct role in the operational management of social and economic activity. Mass socio-political institutions other than the party function in a semi-autonomous manner rather as pliant "transmission belts" of the party leadership, a situation which allows for a type of institutional or organizational pluralism not found in a more centralized one-party state. (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 15)

Finally, *pragmatic consolidation* is, in a strictly political sense, a 'quasi' regime-strategy since it does not involve any coherent management strategy but rather is characterized by eclectic efforts at maintaining the foundational dimensions of pluralist socialist society. Its central premise is a recognition and acceptance of existing socio-cultural diversities, coupled with the expectation that "different ethnic and regional interests would sometimes come into conflict, and that it [is] the political system's responsibility to channel, accommodate, and reconcile such divergent interests, albeit within a one-party framework" (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 146). Thus, the 'quasi-political' nature of *pragmatic consolidation* rests in the absence of clearly articulated political strategies for managing these potentially conflictual cultural/national interests, and in the adherence to *ad hoc, a posteriori*, political responses. Furthermore, *pragmatic consolidation* is (at least partially) an ideological throwback to the earlier regime-strategies of *revolutionary fusion* and *evolutionary merger* because it involves a renewed appeal to the revolutionary values of anational(istic) consciousness and a sensitivity towards the interests of the larger social community.

Revolutionary Fusion / Yugoslav Socialist Patriotism

The *revolutionary fusion* phase was the time of radical reformulation of the economic, political, and socio-cultural foundations of the Yugoslav state. World War II saw the dissolution of the 'first' monarchist/authoritarian Yugoslavia, the breakout of 'ethno-regional' violence, and partisan-led anti-fascist struggle on two fronts: against the local Nazi-allied nationalist forces (most prominently, Croatian *Ustaše* and Serbian *Četnici*), and against the German and Italian occupiers (for an authoritative first-hand account and analysis, see Đilas 1977). The end-result of the

1941-1945 armed conflicts was the defeat of both internal and external adversaries, and the establishment of Tito-led Communists as the victorious political force and, therefore, as the party in a position to shape the contours of the second Yugoslavia. The two principal tasks undertaken, in this context, were: steering the new Yugoslavia away from the pre-World War II political course, and solving the national question of the country — i.e. reconciling the national/cultural tensions (which, in the period of 1941-1945, exploded in the form of ultra-nationalistic purification) by balancing and satisfying the multiple demands from the ethnic groups constituting the new society. The Communist Party's commitment to, and a promise of, a new federal political system based on ethnic equality of all nationalities and regions in the country — and grounded in socialist ideological principles and in an economic policy of coordinated and controlled development — was taken as centrally important for the realization of these tasks.

Rebuilding the society on radically new foundations required formulating a economic, political, and socio-cultural vision congruent with the new socialist ideology and shaping actual policies by which this vision would be put to practice. The initial regime-strategy of *revolutionary merger* meant that the Communist Party was the central organizational body which shaped and controlled all important processes in the society. This translated, economically, into a highly directed and planned development with the overarching goal of an all-out modernization, primarily for agricultural and industrial capacities and potentials. Politically, the *revolutionary merger* implied that the Communist Party was the apex of a decision-making hierarchy and the central body for the design and execution of a new federal political system that would create ethno-national and regional equalities. Socio-culturally, the centralized form of governance led to the creation of a 'Yugoslav socialist patriotism', a form of trans-ethnic socialist identity that would *co-exist* with the traditional, locally grounded, forms of identification and belonging as the primary aspect of the country's national consciousness. The gist of 'Yugoslav socialist patriotism' was summed up by Tito:

> We are not talking about a creation of some new 'Yugoslav nation' in the stead of the already existing nations, but about organic growth and strengthening of the socialist community of producers, that is, working people of all Yugoslav nations. Such

> Yugoslavism not only does not stand in the way of free development of national languages and cultures but is, on the contrary, presupposed by these. (Tito in Vučelić 1984b: 19)

To further clarify the point, Tito states:

> Each person can be who they feel they are and no-one has the right to impose onto another this or that national belonging if one feels solely as a citizen of Yugoslavia. *National belonging and citizenship do not contradict each other*. The communists who do not grasp this do not understand the most elementary notions of internationalism. (Tito in Vučelić 1984b: 19, emphasis added)

In addition,

> to be true to internationalism means first and foremost being a true internationalist within one's own country, especially in a multinational social community such as our own. Internationalism in one's own country does not mean unification, nor does it mean negation of national and ethnic groups as subjects in a socialist community. (Tito in Mlakar 1983: 5)

Thus, 'Yugoslav socialist patriotism' was seen as a strategic device that would, while acknowledging national/cultural diversity of the population, provide a socio-cultural designation within which the concerns for the well-being of — and identification with — the larger national community would be prioritized as more important than the loyalties to the local 'ethno-cultural' setting(s).

Initially, it was believed that the actualization of the latter was a relatively unproblematic matter, dependent upon the success of modernization and federalization as well as on the Party's ability to imbue the citizenry with the new socialist spirit. However, the 1948 Tito-Stalin rift and the discrepancies between the stated objectives and the actual socio-cultural developments (i.e., partial success of 'Yugoslav socialist patriotism') led to the Yugoslav leadership steering away from the Soviet form of political governance, and embarking on the path of a more locally-grown one. By the early 1950s, the regime-strategy of *revolutionary fusion* gave way to a new political *praxis* of *evolutionary merger*.

Evolutionary Merger / Socialist Yugoslavism

The new phase of political governance saw Yugoslavia moving towards a more polycentric federal system and abandoning the 'statist socialism' of the Soviet type, at least in principle. The foundation of this new, distinctly Yugoslav, brand of non-totalitarian socialist organization was based on a devolution of decision-making authority and powers from the federal to republic and local governing bodies. The aim was to create a form of governance grounded in more democratic principles of identifying and addressing the economic, political, and socio-cultural needs of the country. This meant a type of organizational dynamic where each of the six federal units and their respective localities would have more say in the affairs of both their immediate surroundings and the society as a whole. Instituted under the banner of 'socialist self-management and society-wide negotiation' (*socijalističko samoupravljanje i društveno dogovaranje*) some of the most important economic and political changes associated with the regime-strategy of *evolutionary merger* thus included

> the establishment of the … councils for workers' self-management of the economy, a scaling down in the operational scope and size of the party (renamed the League of Yugoslav Communists or SKJ), and a decentralization of the state bureaucracy and system of economic planning. Equally important, a series of measures were introduced to loosen the state's control of the electoral process. Provisions were made for increased citizen participation in the nomination and slating of candidates and for the introduction of plural-candidate (i.e. competitive) contests for legislative seats in a very limited number of districts at all levels of government. There was also a noticeable decrease in overt intimidation by the authorities to influence voter participation. (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 73, in-text reference omitted)

With respect to the management of country's socio-cultural and 'ethno-national' diversity, the regime-strategy of *evolutionary merger* entailed replacing the strategy of 'Yugoslav socialist patriotism' with the new *praxis* of Socialist Yugoslavism. In contrast to the former approach which aimed at fostering a sort of dual identity in the citizenry through the encouragement of supra-national consciousness *along* with the preservation of the traditional cultural/national identities, Socialist Yugoslavism aimed at de-emphasizing the multi-national and multi-cultural aspects of society and creating, among citizens, closer social bonds grounded in the common working-class interests. Or as Edvard Kardelj, one of Yugoslavia's principal policy architects, observed regarding this:

> A firm community of the Yugoslav peoples doesn't depend on this or that treatment of ethnic and cultural problems as much as upon the common social, material, and — by that — also political interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia. In short the essence of present-day Yugoslavia can only be the socialist interests and socialist consciousness … of the kind which arises on the basis of inexorable socio-economic tendencies. … It is evident that the result of that process will be the even greater cultural merger of the Yugoslav peoples. (Kardelj in Cohen and Warwick 1983: 75)

On a broader plane, this meant that

> Socialist Yugoslavism, as a form of socialist internationalism, and democratic national consciousness, which is imbued with the spirit of internationalism, are not separate phenomena but the two sides of a unique process. (KPJ in Đapo 1986: 9)

The gist of Socialist Yugoslavism therefore was the expectation that, as a result of the gradual weakening of traditional group identities, ethnic cultures would merge and form new Yugoslav consciousness predicated upon the recognition of common political and, especially, economic interests — i.e. that, in Marxist terms, the Yugoslav workers would transcend the 'evidentness of *class-in-itself* factuality' and develop the *class-for-itself* consciousness.

Although initially generally successful, by the late 1950s-early 1960s the regime-strategy of *evolutionary merger* was running against some counterproductive developments in Yugoslav society. The most important of these were: (1) regional economic nationalism, (2) intra-party factionalism on the issue of political liberalization, and (3) resistance to socialist monoculturalism. The first tendency was due to the widening economic gap between the advanced and the less developed regions, which was not being bridged despite all economic measures and programs.

In addition, the new decentralized system of economic decision-making tended to encourage particularistic interests of specific localities rather than wider national interests, translating — under the rationale that the pursuit of locally-centered economic objectives tends to favor one national group over another — into increasingly nationalistic inter-regional competition. The second tendency was tied to the issue of economic nationalism and the struggles over the extent of polycentric federal system. The political elites in the more economically advanced regions favored and advocated greater decentralization of political decision-making and opposed grand economic projects and politically-motivated investments in the less developed regions. The more conservative elements of the Party (mostly the elites in the underdeveloped regions), however, favored both a more centralized decision-making process and resource allocation designed to redistribute wealth from more to less economically developed regions. In addition, given the increasingly nationalistic overtones of the frictions, the conservatives argued for the stronger central control in the interest of preserving political unity, while the liberal wing of the Party saw this kind of tactic as potentially detrimental because it promoted cultural favoritism of one group or of one region of the country. Hence the third tendency, resistance to socialist monoculturalism (i.e. the establishment of greater uniformity of language, history, education, the arts, etc., presumed by the strategy of Socialist Yugoslavism), as an attempt to stave off the perceived tendencies of de-regionalization and de-particularization of the manifold ethno-cultural expressions within Yugoslavia's social landscape. In response to the growing tensions and growing ascendancy of the liberal faction in the Party, the Yugoslav leadership opted to 'go liberal' and further relax the 'centralist' features of the current mode of governance and control. Consequently, by 1963 *evolutionary merger* was abandoned and replaced with the new regime strategy — *pluralist socialism*.

Pluralist Socialism / Multi-national Socialist Community

Pluralist socialism of 1963-1972 was an officialization of conflictual tendencies in Yugoslav society and an attempt to create a mechanism for their successful management and harmonization. Here 'pluralism' implied the existence of diverse and often nationally-based visions, while 'socialism' indicated that these represented various shades of the overall uniform ideological spectrum. Thus, this regime-strategy allowed the existence of alternative social visions and the possibility for their dialogical negotiation, provided these were grounded in the socialist mode of societal organization. In this context, the questioning of the character and specificities of the Yugoslav socialist project was open for discussion but without the possibility of questioning socialism as such.

The regime strategy of *pluralist socialism* led to several operational changes in the political process. The principal political agency, the League of Communists, further renounced its political powers and transferred them to the regional and local legislative, judicial, and political bodies. Thus, rather than being the supreme political authority, the party was now acting as a 'broker' helping to channel and resolve divergent group interests. The political process itself was restructured along the lines of *parliamentary* organization, with the possibility of competitive elections of local representatives. Also, space was provided for the formation of various institutions and agencies representing interests and concerns of particular segments of the society such as women, youth, actors, writers, engineers, etc. Through all of this, as Cohen and Warwick (1983: 78) put it, "by allowing problems among nationalities and regions to be expressed openly through various formal channels, the party leadership hoped to dissipate the tensions accumulated from the neglect of such issues in the past, and also to give all the sections and groups in the country a stake in the successful formulation of central policies".

For socio-cultural policy, *pluralist socialism* meant abandonment of the Socialist Yugoslavism project and embracing the *multi-national socialist community* idea(l). Thus, renewed emphasis was placed on the diversity of ethno-cultural groups within the society, rather than on cultural homogeneity grounded in common interests. In stark contrast to his earlier observation about the 'greater cultural merger of the Yugoslav peoples', Edvard Kardelj was now observing that "our federation ... is not a frame for making some new Yugoslav nation, or the frame for the kind of national integration which various advocates of hegemonism or denationalizing terror have been daydreaming of" (in Cohen and Warwick 1983: 77). In the spirit of this remark, the official position on the citizens' self-designation was that identifying oneself as 'Yugoslav' was — although in principle acceptable — not the most felicitous option, and that, instead, one should identify oneself in ethno-cultural terms.[10] Similarly to the new political organization, the new socio-cultural course was predicated upon the belief that resistance to socialist monoculturalism and increasing nationalization of socio-cultural discourse would be best harmonized through open expression and negotiation of ethno-cultural differences, rather than through the previous strategy of cultural amalgamation.

Contrary to expectations, however, *socialist pluralism* resulted in growing regionalization and partitioning of interests and in increasingly ethno-exclusivist frameworks for the political, economic, and socio-cultural discourses[11]. Additionally, political pluralism and the movement towards democratization of the political process generated conflicts within the party and led to the emergence of pressure groups acting as mini-parties within the party. Finally, in socio-cultural developments, the pluralist policy of multi-national socialist community encouraged growing expression of nationalist sentiments by the members of regional intellectual elites, which was accompanied by tacit toleration and, occasionally, open encouragement by regional party leaders. The cumulative effect of all of these tendencies was political leadership's fear that the demands for greater regional autonomy and for the broader recognition of minority ethnic groups might threaten the stability and survival of the political system and bring about a new wave of potentially violent ethnic nationalisms. As seen by the political officialdom, the only solution was to halt the devolution of power to the regional level, purge the regional parties of the nationalist/chauvinist elements, switch back to more centralized political governance, and reintroduce the cultural policy of 'Yugoslav socialist patriotism'. Thus, by the early 1972, the regime-strategy of *socialist pluralism* was abandoned without, however, giving way to a new coherent mode of governance. Instead, what ensued was a sort of an *ad hoc* crisis-management tactic of *pragmatic consolidation*.

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[10] This was quite a radical departure from previously exercised norms and practices of national/ethnic self-designation. Until 1967 it was forbidden to declare nationality in one's personal identity card, under the assumption — central to Socialist Yugoslavism — that 'united class interests' ought to take precedence over any other form of identification. In this context, the category of nationality was construed as but one of subsets of person's overall class identity and was thus considered as clearly secondary in importance and somewhat residual in nature. Paradoxically, and despite the Constitution, in Article 43, sanctioning that 'a citizen is not obliged to state his/her national belonging or to choose a particular nation', all forms and applications had 'nationality' rubric. Although the category Yugoslav existed because of mixed marriages and because of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, those who declared themselves as Yugoslavs in surveys and other forms of tabular questionnaires were categorized as 'undecided'. Thus, in the 1968 annual statistical population survey, for example, the column with 'Yugoslav' designation was left empty.

However, the Yugoslav public, and the younger generation in particular, was raising questions about the inability to declare their Yugoslav identity, claiming that the latter does not stand for a national or supranational category and form of identification, but that it simply expresses the sentiment of belonging and a tie to the Yugoslav socialist community. Rather than being ethnically-charged, the Yugoslav category, the argument went, was civic in nature, meaning to denote a particular citizenry bond to the state and society. Thus, in the spring of 1971, in an annual demographic survey, the category 'Yugoslav' enters for the first time the statistical matrix of Yugoslav state, with 273.000 declared Yugoslavs (Milanović 1986a: 10).

[11] As, in the course of the late 1960's and early 1970's, political relations gravitated more towards particularistic and separatist end of the spectrum, the notion of culture itself was reoriented towards more polycentric model of cultural *praxis*. As Matvejević puts it:

> The problem at work was the difficulty with affirming the parts within the framework of community as a whole, on one hand, and with a residual old consciousness of particularism (of separatist and hegemonic type), on the other. For many, the notion of Yugoslav culture came to be synonymous with cultural unitarism. A significant number of connections between national cultures was rapidly loosened or brought down to a level of formal and official manifestations. … The rationale of the affirmation of cultural specificities *via* dissociation of one's own culture gained a significant number of supporters. (Matvejević 1977: 8)

Pragmatic Consolidation / Wither Yugoslavism (?)

According to Cohen and Warwick, *pragmatic consolidation*

> appears to be characterized less by a coherent strategy than by a very eclectic effort to maintain the most notable features of Titoism … while simultaneously controlling some of the more deleterious and unintended consequences of Yugoslav political development relating to the still unresolved national question (regional loyalties, economic nationalism, and various forms of ethnic chauvinism). This approach … included general elite support for the notion that Yugoslavia would and should remain a highly diverse country of many nations, minorities, and regions. Recognition and acceptance of such diversity included the expectation that different ethnic and regional interests would sometimes come into conflict, and that it was the political system's responsibility to channel, accommodate, and reconcile such divergent interests, albeit within a one-party framework. … The continued official celebration of *ethnic* pluralism in the period after 1971 was explicitly disassociated, however, from notions supporting increased *political* pluralism, and especially any hint of genuine political choices in the recruitment of state and party leaders. (Cohen and Warwick 1983: 146-7)

Therefore, the principal objectives of this new mode of governance were, on the one hand, to curb the instances of politically charged expressions of ethno-nationalism(s) and, on the other, to strike a 'new equilibrium' in the constantly fluctuating dynamic of regional/national relations and demands. In fact, the two were seen as highly correlated in that the increase in political nationalism usually translated into disruption of relations at the local/regional level.

Initially (1972-1974) *pragmatic consolidation* took the form of more centralized political management with the party strengthening its ideological hold on society. At this stage, the primary objective (seen as significant for controlling political nationalism) was to cleanse the political leadership of the too liberal and 'reactionary/bourgeois' elements, and to reinvigorate the spirit of socialist revolution (i.e., Partisan legacy) as the socio-cultural foundation of social solidarity. In addition, the political decision-making process was revamped and the *self-managing local communities* were introduced as the principal political/economic bodies in society. It was believed, at this time, that popularizing the Titoist brand of self-managing socialism and some sort of 'Partisanised' *conscience collectif* would provide the best mechanism of checks and balances for consolidating Yugoslavia's political and ethno-cultural landscape(s). Hence the renewed, although perhaps somewhat wistful emphasis on Yugoslav socialist patriotism — now recontextualized within the new framework of socialist self-management:

> I am not satisfied with the fact that we are not speaking enough about Yugoslav socialist patriotism, that we are not developing the sense of belonging to a Yugoslav socialist self-managing community in our youth. [Yugoslav socialist patriotism] in no way puts to question nationalities and national characteristics and traditions, but considers them as the richness of our social and cultural life and a condition for further all-encompassing development.
>
> I always say, and will continue saying, that I am Yugoslav. This of course does not mean that I forgot that I was born in Zagorje and that I am of Croat nationality. (Tito in Milanović 1986a: 11)

After 1974, when it appeared that the main political and ethno-cultural tensions have been successfully reconciled, Yugoslavia's political leadership allowed, while maintaining ultimate political authority, broadening of the boundaries of political dialogue, and maneuvered back to the practices first experimented with under *pluralist socialism*. This time around, the multiplicity of political voices was ideologized as the 'pluralism of self-managing socialist interests' — i.e. as the most efficient mechanism for negotiating and consolidating political demands expressed by local communities organized around the principles of socialist administration. The nature of ethno-cultural consolidation closely approximated this political model in that it was believed that Yugoslavia's cultural pluralism needed to be expressed as diverse ethno-cultural voices hailing from different local communities, and that these should be able to find harmony through the practices of intersection and interaction. Notably absent in all of this (on both political and ethno-cultural front) was some sort of a vision, or a set of policies, on how this notion of 'self-management democracy' (as Kardelj put it) was to be realized on a practical level; instead, the political leadership presumed that developing and maintaining a proper *institutional* setup would provide a framework through which the dynamics of political and ethno-cultural negotiation and consolidation would somehow work themselves out.

This quasi-strategy of non-policy policy on political and ethno-cultural auto-consolidation proved to work quite well — at least for the time being. In the second half of 1970's Yugoslavia appeared to be a 'society on the course', with the levels of political, economic and socio-cultural dissonance relatively low in comparison with the period of late 1960's-early 1970's. The decade of 1980's, however, would see some drastic alterations in the shades and shapes of Yugoslavia's soci(et)al landscape which would challenge the adequacy of the leadership's 'conciliatory pragmatism' and, ultimately, present a challenge of coming up with a new mode of political governance that would offer the most efficient mechanism for countering the recurring tides of political particularism and ethno-cultural nationalism, coupled this time around with an economic crisis of yet unseen proportions.

So what were the principal changes in the soci(et)al landscape of the 1980s? On the political front, the period after Tito's death in May of 1980 was characterized by the ever-greater inability of Yugoslavia's collective leadership to strike a coherent political vision and implement an effective political course. Political turbulences were, primarily, grounded in the move from the political governance characterized by the principles of 'democratic centralism' and personified in the country's 'greatest son', towards the depersonalized model of political decentralization and devolution of power to the federal units. The main consequence of pursuing this 'post-Titoist' political paradigm was the increasing emergence of factional interests within the political leadership which put any attempt of coherent political governance at almost a standstill. The principal political dynamics revolved around attempts to appease various political demands from the country's federal units and, in the process, to try to reconcile these demands in terms of the larger — i.e. Yugoslav — political objectives. In the end, the post-Titoist collective leadership, headed by the League of Communists, proved unsuccessful in navigating the stormy political winds of the times, thus putting into question the effectiveness of the Party and its entire political edifice, and, in the process, ushering distinctly post-Yugoslav political rhetoric and — eventually — practices.

In terms of economic trends, the period of 1980's was characterized by significant economic slowdown and, subsequently, recession. Beginning in the mid-1979, Yugoslavia's economic turbulence was characterized by ever increasing inflation (which by 1984 reached an annual figure of about 60 percent), more-or-less chronic shortage of essential consumer commodities (such as sugar, coffee and detergent), and a falling standard of living for most households (many of whom were spending up to 70 percent of their monthly income on food). In addition to these problems, there was an increasing pressure by international financial agencies (such as the IMF) for Yugoslavia's accountability regarding the repayment of foreign debt (which was estimated at over $20 billion), leading to the country's greater bind to foreign economic dictates and imported recipes for economic revitalization. The compounded effect of the domestic hardships and growing foreign pressures was a gradual shift from an economic organization grounded in the principles of workers' self-management, characteristic of the 'Titoist epoch', towards an increasingly Western-style, market-oriented economic restructuring — culminating in an abortive attempt at an economic reform undertaken in the late 1980s by the then prime-minister Ante Marković[12].

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[12] Ironically, the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia coincided with the period of greatest economic prosperity and upturn the country was to experience in over a decade. Thus the

Finally, in terms of socio-cultural tendencies, the period of 1980s was a time of social brooding and cultural introspection, directly bearing upon the problems outlined above. On the social plane, persistent economic recession and notable decline in the standard of living for many translated into a heightened level of dissatisfaction with the country's leadership and into instances of open challenges to the established norms of political and economic behavior (the most notable being labor strikes and work absenteeism). Culturally, the intellectual community both within and outside the Party circles grew ever more reflexive about the legacy of Titoism and the socialist revolution, pushing for a critical reexamination of the principal ideological-political and economic tenets. The realities of a 'legitimation crisis' were confronted by protracted intellectual debates and exchanges about 'what is to be done?', with suggestions ranging from the radical revamping of existing political and economic practices to the abandonment of the whole socialist enterprise, now perceived as increasingly obsolete. The overall soci(et)al climate in the 1980s Yugoslavia, thus, was permeated by what Ramet calls the 'apocalypse culture' — i.e. the cultural climate that was "inward-looking, absorbed in a quest for meanings, and prepared to question the fundamental political and social values of the society" (Ramet 1985a: 3). Its defining tone can be condensed to Marx's often quoted remark of "all that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind" (in Tucker 1978: 476) — in other words, to the realization on the part of Yugoslavia's intellectual community that an answer regarding the future of the 'society in crisis' demands facing head on the blinders from the past and, if need be, their relegation to the proverbial dustbin of history, regardless of how precious they once were or still appear to be.

Ultimately, Yugoslavia in the 1980's was in need of much more than a quasi-strategy of *pragmatic consolidation*, for — as the decade progressed — it became obvious that the country's hardships would not resolve on their own. What was

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abortive character of the reforms was, it could be argued, owed primarily to the war-induced dismantling of the common Yugoslav economic space, and not necessarily to the inherent deficiencies of the reform strategy. Had Yugoslavia managed to maintain its internal integrity, the outcome of Marković's economic course might have proven to be completely opposite of what ended up happening.

needed was a clear and coherent political vision, and concrete steps for its implementation — something that was, for a variety of reasons (including some indicated above), not forthcoming from the political leadership. By the late 1980's the country's political elite was rapidly disintegrating, leaving — as Vejvoda (1994) put it — an 'empty place of power' and an opening for the articulation of new political visions and strategies. Consequently, self-managing socialism gave way to unmanageable ethno-national exclusivist, ultimately resulting in a violent breakup of the common Yugoslav soci(et)al space. By the late summer of 1991, SFRY — the Socialist and Federative Republic of Yugoslavia — was no more.

The Politics of Culture: Yugoslavia's Project of Cultural Defining

Building the post-1945 Yugoslavia as a socialist society translated, on a cultural plane, into the task of defining the new national culture — that is, creating the set of cultural criteria and elements that would be recognized as distinctly Yugoslav and, on that basis, used as a sort of 'soci(et)al glue' and a foundation for building the new national *conscience collectif*.[13] As an 'imagined ideological community', the new socialist Yugoslavia needed an appropriate form of cultural imaginary that would provide a framework broad enough for each of its numerous ethnic groups to conceive of itself in terms — and as being a part — of an overall Yugoslav socio-cultural experience. Thus, 'making culture', or culturally defining the new national space, proved critical in the process of the post-1945 nation-building.

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[13] Reflecting on this initial period of cultural modeling, Radovan Zogović observes:

> The task of the Department for Culture was to 'strengthen the elements of democratic and socialist culture', that is, to dismantle and suppress bourgeois culture, most prominently its extreme — meaning, fascist, pro-fascist and quisling — forms.
>
> In practical sense, activities ranged from conceptualizing and drafting projects for the creation of new cultural institutions and social organizations, over dealing with the especially unacceptable residues of nationalism and mysticism in culture, to taking care of supplying hard-to-find fabric for black suits for the members of the philharmonic orchestra. (Marić 1981: 14)

The Cultural Project: 'Progressive in Outlook'/'Socialist in Content'

From the very beginning, the project of cultural defining had openly political connotations in that it was taken not only as a tool of socio-cultural cohesion but, equally importantly, as a tool of political (i.e. socialist) inculcation. The two-fold objective of 'making culture' in the post-World War II Yugoslavia was to get Yugoslav citizenry to think of themselves as such and to do so within a socialist framework. As Majstorović writes:

> culture was a component part of the political struggle, an expression of the efforts to develop class consciousness and give one's cultural and creative contribution to the struggle for social rights and justice. Concurrently with the dissemination of knowledge and new ideas, the aim of culture was to promote and popularize a vision of a more humane and equitable society. (Majstorović 1972: 15)

Accordingly, any figuration of authentically Yugoslav cultural expressions would need to adhere to being 'progressive in outlook' and 'socialist in content' — the dictums that were to delimit the parameters and boundaries of cultural forms and contents for the better part of Yugoslavia's existence.

The project of cultural defining was shaped by two central 'material practices' that paralleled it closely — urbanization and modernization. For the Yugoslav leadership, one of the central objectives of the post-1945 nation-building was to remodel the country into an urban, industrial and all-around modern society – i.e. one that would, to the greatest possible degree, approximate the 'ideal-type' of the post-Marx socialist thought[14]. The task was to develop both a broad-base industrial infrastructure and a large urban working class as the principal carrier of the socialist project. Translated into the realm of culture, this meant pressing on for a distinctly urban and modern model of cultural expressions, whose principal aim would be to raise the cultural standard of the citizenry and uproot the cultural purviews from their immediate ethno-national setting to a broader, 'trans-ethnic' (i.e. civic), plane. In practical terms, this new Yugoslav 'cultural prototype' was a mirror image of the bourgeois high culture with its emphasis on refinement, sophistication, and civility in all venues of life:

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[14] Here "The History of Mexico – The World of Today and Tomorrow" by the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera and, in particular, its top part with Karl Marx pointing out the new socialist society to Mexican workers and peasants, could be taken as a good visual representation of an ideal-type socialist society. (for image, see Rochfort 1993: 92).

> [culture] therefore had a definite meaning only in so far as it referred to urban culture, which was undergoing … [a] process of differentiation as a result of industrial development and differentiation of social structure. According to the urban concept, *culture was identified with civilized habits and behaviour copied from the European bourgeoisie.* (Majstorović 1972: 14, emphasis added)

In short, the culture of new Yugoslavia equaled civility and civility equaled high cultural sophistication of decidedly Western urban disposition.

The strategic purpose of engaging high culture in the process of cultural defining was to reorient cultural sensibilities of the citizenry towards more progressive forms of cultural expression and thus stimulate true urban impulses as the foundation for the development of the new form of modern trans-ethnic identity. At the same time, however, the political leadership was well aware that, given the population's strong traditional-rural cultural preferences, raising cultural standards via European bourgeois sophistication would not, in and of itself, provide a successful mechanism for carrying out the project. Therefore, it was decided that 'rape by a piano' (*silovanje klavirom*) — as Goran Bregović, one of the most important and influential Yugoslav rock musicians, dubbed the forceful imposition of high culture onto the not-too-receptive population of Yugoslavia — ought to be relaxed to some degree and emphasis be placed on 'Yugoslavizing' the existing multifaceted ethno-national cultural norms. Folkloric culture, consequently, became another important element in forging the common cultural framework.

'Yugoslavization' of traditional cultural expressions took form of an affirmation of all ethno-national cultural norms and their celebration as the cultural foundation(s) of a new Yugoslav society. It was recognized that Yugoslav cultural spectrum in its broadest sense is an amalgamation of the multiplicity of ethno-national cultures, and that each and every one of them is equally valuable in terms of its contribution to the country's 'folkloric landscape'. Correspondingly, it was taken that folkloric culture in all its artistic expressions ought to continue serving as the backbone of cultural imagination of the many ethno-national groups, but with the clear sense and recognition that the folkloric culture is also the backbone of *Yugoslav* cultural imaginary. It was believed, in this context, that the country's multi-national citizenry will come to perceive itself as Yugoslav insofar as each and every national group comes to see its cultural norms and practices as a legitimate and *meaningful* dimension of the 'great Yugoslav cultural umbrella'.

Just as with high culture, the full legitimacy of folkloric culture regarding its contribution to the project of national cultural defining was construed in terms of it being 'progressive in outlook' and 'socialist in content', with an expectation that — like high culture — the folkloric cultural expressions will play an affirmative role in legitimizing the new and modern Yugoslav socialist experience. The 'progressiveness' of folkloric culture was primarily understood as its mandate to transcend its nationalistic (and often politically charged) sentiments which made it a springboard for ethno-national chauvinism. In practical terms, this meant that folkloric expressions of any ethno-national group in the country ought to function, first and foremost, as affirmations of the cultural richness of that group (its proud tradition, heritage, etc.) while making it part of the overall Yugoslav cultural spectrum, thus working against the destructive nationalist tendencies within society. By 'socialist in content', on the other hand, it was understood that the traditional cultural forms ought to make inroads for the Partisan legacy's becoming a 'new Yugoslav folklore'.[15] Specifically, this meant that the content of folkloric cultural

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[15] The process of turning Partisan legacy into a new Yugoslav folklore followed almost the beginning of local anti-fascist struggle in 1941 almost immediately. Oskar Danon, author of the best known revolutionary songs, was one of the principal composers in charge of creating songs that spoke of Partisan experiences. As he recalls (in Protić 1983b: 14),

> The revolution helped me to express myself as an artist and a human being and to open myself to society, Partisan fighters, and people. I began writing my revolutionary-struggle songs right there in the mountains and valleys, and they immediately became public property with a life of its own, accepted by both Partisan brigades and ordinary people.

What made Danon's songs so popular and widely accepted was his use of 'folkloric method' of composing, drawing lyrically on immediate, everyday experiences of people and Partisans from different regions of the country and musically on melodic structures of the regions reflected in the song's lyrics:

> [t]he key was … that Partisan fighters and people sing songs which came out of our experiences and were nursed by the spirit of our revolutionary struggle. And motives of that kind were so numerous that not dozens, but hundreds of songs — one more beautiful than another — could flourish. … So

expressions be expanded to include a repertoire of, most prominently, songs and dances that celebrate the anti-Fascist struggle, the socialist revolution and its legacy, and all that is glorious and admirable about the Partisan hardships and the new socialist experience, and that these be presented as legitimate dimensions of each and every ethno-national cultural experience. The rationale here was that making the Partisan legacy a 'new tradition' celebrated by all strata of society would translate into an internalization of the new socialist course as but a contemporary expression (and continuation) of that tradition and, therefore, as part and parcel of the overall, all-Yugoslav, folklore. 'Yugoslavization' of folkloric culture as 'progressive in outlook' and 'socialist in content', then, meant the affirmation of both Yugoslav and socialist experiences through the multi-national spectrum of traditional cultural expressions.

In addition to high culture and folkloric culture, a third form of cultural expression — popular culture — figured prominently in the Yugoslav project of cultural defining. This cultural category was used as an umbrella concept for all forms of culture that did not have that moment of profundity that characterizes high culture but were decidedly modern in their intentionality and therefore clearly not part of what was labeled as folkloric culture. Cultural forms such as film, different types of popular press, and variety of popular music genres would fall under this category. It is significant to note that the development of popular culture paralleled the development of Yugoslav socialist project, and that, therefore, its specific manifestations took shape wholly within the context of a socialist soci(et)al setup. This, in turn, had significant impact on popular culture's specific forms and contents, and, since it was 'nursed' under the auspices of Yugoslav political officialdom, made it most malleable in accordance with the dictums of 'progressive in outlook'/'socialist' in content'. Overall, it was expected that popular culture would provide a bridge between high and folkloric cultures by using appropriate elements of the former to package the themes of the latter in a manner acceptable to the segments of society

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> I suggested … to try composing a melody that would, musically, draw upon songs close to people of [the] region. (Danon in Protić 1983b: 15)

This approach resulted in Danon's Partisan songs having a true folkloric tenor and being accepted very quickly as part of the existing local folklore (for further insights, see also Protić 1983a; Protić 1983c).

not necessarily 'attuned' to either high or folkloric cultural forms.[16] Consequently, the role of popular culture in the context of the national cultural defining was popularization of the core elements of the other two cultural forms. Its 'progressiveness' was evident in its 'educative moment' that went beyond simple entertainment value, while its 'socialism' rested on a tacit expectation that the new Yugoslav folklore (i.e. Partisan legacy) should figure prominently in content of its cultural output.

The New Socialist Man

Successful implementation of this new cultural model dependent on creating the 'new socialist man', i.e. the new urban, progressively oriented Yugoslav citizen as the bearer of authentically Yugoslav cultural expressions. This was of paramount importance since the post-World War II Yugoslavia was a society with predominantly rural population (around 80%) (Labudović 1984) whose cultural tastes and habits were far removed from the lofty cultural vistas envisioned by the country's political leadership, and thus incongruent with the desired urban-progressive element of the newly germinating soci(et)al landscape. Therefore, this foundational constituent of the new society simply had to be created, and created out of what was readily available. The thinking of the day was that the only way to successfully alter the cultural profile of Yugoslav population was to engage in 'social engineering' whereby a significant portion of the country's peasantry was to be deruralized and remodeled into a new urban worker. Once in a distinctly urban setting, the new socialist man was bound to abandon 'regressive' cultural values of the 'former self' and embrace, along with the 'new self', the progressive values of both cosmopolitan and socialist dispositions. Just as the new cultural model itself, he would ultimately come to be an individual of bourgeois cultural sensibilities ('progressive in outlook') and working class ideological preferences ('socialist in content').

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[16] An example of this would be pop singers, or rock bands, covering traditional folk songs and giving them a 'popular twist', but often with arrangements that would involve a certain level of complexity and 'stylistic solution' evocative of classical music. Another example would be 'symphonizing' songs of Partisan anti-fascist struggle and making them sound like classical pieces, while – at the same time – rendering them melodic enough so as to make them acceptable to wide range of audiences.

From the very beginning, creation of the new socialist man involved a high level of cultural engagement, with the recognized and officially sanctioned artistic forms/expressions being employed to animate the vision and spirit of this new cornerstone of Yugoslav socialism. Thus in one of the early articles on the issue Jovan Popović wrote that the task ought to be "the creation of an art about the new man, about the man of our society who in his humanity and progressiveness stands right next to the Soviet Union" (in Marić 1987a: 23). It was believed that creating a visual image ought to be the first step towards articulating the essence of this new urban socialist citizen. Therefore, the best and brightest of Yugoslav painters were summoned up and entrusted with the production of a fitting (i.e. iconic) visual representation. This proved to be more difficult than anticipated because immediate real-life inspiration was not as readily available as one would have expected. As described by Marić (1987a: 23),

> Artists were searching frantically for the new man, who — as it turned out — was even more humane and progressive than the Soviet Union's. Boža Ilić was looking for him on Belgrade streets for days, halting every now and then, and politely stopping and sizing up passersby. … He understood it clearly that, without exception, all these were the new people, but he found it hard to distinguish precisely what made them different from the old ones.

Nonetheless, an appropriate creative impulse was found, resulting in Yugoslavia's very first — and officially sanctioned — socialist-realist work of art:

> Losing his patience a bit, Ilić crossed the Sava river. ... After a while he came across a sizable group of young men and women who were spinning together some strange device. They told him that they were drilling the ground and checking if it was solid enough for building an entirely New Belgrade.
>
> Mesmerized by the scene, the artist made a few sketches ... A year and a half later ..., the grandiose composition 'Gauging of New Belgrade's Ground' was produced. (Marić 1987a: 23)

Ilić's mural-style painting (about 5 meters in width) was first presented to the public at a 1948 art exposition and was consequently honored with a government award for painting in 1949. The award, in effect, was a recognition from the political elite that "Gauging of New Belgrade's Ground" successfully accomplished the task of giving visual expression to the essence of Yugoslavia's new socialist man, thus establishing a visual (and overall aesthetic) referent for other artistic works to follow.[17] The importance of the painting is captured in Oto Bihalji Merin's praise of Ilić, where he writes that "with assured strokes and harmonious colors [the artist] has expressed the enthusiasm of work and the rhythm and happiness of collective effort in the building of our socialist homeland" (in Marić 1987a: 23).

As embodied in Ilić's "Gauging of New Belgrade's Ground", which reflected the government's official 'philosophy' on the new socialist man, Yugoslavia's new citizen was, ideally, of both socialist working-class and cosmopolitan dispositions. The two were symbolized, respectively, in the celebration of collective industrial labour and in the building of new urban environment, itself emblematic of progress and social and human betterment. The practical problem, however, was that this idealized embodiment was a rare commodity in reality, and, therefore, in no way a reflection of Yugoslavia's actually existing demographic profile. Thus, at the ground level, the project of creating the new socialist man was predicated on radical reshaping of the country's population structure by transforming a large number of rural peasants into urban industrial workers through the encouragement of massive country-to-town migrations. On a larger plane, this 'eighth offensive'[18] (as the undertaking came to be dubbed by popular culture some 35 years later) was seen as a complement to government's plan for modernization of Yugoslavia into a broad-base industrial society. Thus, the success of one depended on the success of the other. For, as the working logic behind the 'dialectics' of modernization and urbanization, had it, modern industrial society needs progressive urban citizen as much as progressive urban citizen needs modern industrial society and as much as true socialism — if it was to triumph — needs both modern industrial society and progressive urban citizen unfolded in their full potential and scope.

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[17] Ilić's status as Yugoslavia's first and only official(ly recognized) socialist painter was relatively short lived. It lasted only until the 1951 regime-strategy shift from *revolutionary fusion* to *evolutionary merger*, which resulted in two important cultural developments: (1) greater artistic latitude sanctioned by the official political course of the Party, and (2) denunciation of socialist realism as a credible artistic expression because of its association with Stalinism, abandoned by Yugoslav leadership in the aftermath of 1948 Tito-Stalin rift. In the changed political/cultural climate of the country, Ilić was criticized as an 'imposed artist' and his work as too close to the official political demands and therefore lacking true artistic tenor.

[18] Local historiography of Partisan resistance during World War II is framed as a succession of seven offensives, each representing a peak moment of anti-fascist struggle and a symbol of heroic endeavors on the path to freedom and socialism. The 'eight offensive' (title of a popular TV series produced in 1979 that deals with post-war internal migrations) is a popular cultural coinage meant to indicate the continuation — and the 'final frontier' — of revolutionary struggle for the new socialist society following the end of the war and the liberation of Yugoslavia.

The first wave of country-to-town migrations began almost immediately after the liberation of Yugoslavia in 1945. From the very beginning, the principal migratory pattern was relocation of people from the country's hinterland to the main urban centers, especially those with existing, or rapidly expanding, industrial infrastructure — namely, the capitals of Yugoslavia's six republics[19]. As a consequence of this explosive influx of population, the structure and composition of major urban centers were profoundly altered and their character and hitherto existing dynamic of living were permanently changed. Yugoslavia's capital Belgrade, for example, experienced population growth of 137.6% in the first post-war year (Džuverović 1984: 18) and subsequently (with the exception of negative growth rate in 1951[20]) grew at a pace that far exceeded normal rate of expansion — largely because of 'mechanical augmentation'. As Džuverović (1984: 18) observes, "from the city of a few hundred thousand people in the first post-war years Belgrade has grown by 1961 into a place of almost one million inhabitants (942, 190), by 1971 into a city of 1,209,361 people, and the full 1,470,043 by 1981". The cumulative effect of this strong and persistent population influx was a drastic change in Belgrade's demographic profile, with a "category of the so-called autochthon residents (born in the urban setting) getting drowned out by the stream of incoming people, and making less than a third of [the city's] overall population" (Džuverović 1984: 18). The same trend, although perhaps not as pronounced as in Belgrade's case, was evident in all major urban centers of the country.

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[19] It is important to note that these migrations were not forceful in nature but were a result of government's vigorous policy of 'marketing' the new modern way of life and placing strong emphasis on the value and importance of urban industrial worker for the process of rebuilding the homeland into a new cosmopolitan Yugoslav community. To 'go modern' was to say 'yes' to the future, the better tomorrow, and therefore to socialism.

[20] According to Džuverović, this was primarily because of the difficult situation in the country and its capital due to Informbiro crisis.

Overall, the explosive post-World War II demographic shift was an undertaking of a predictable effect but not necessarily anticipated outcome. While accomplishing one of the government's main economic objectives (i.e. the creation of a large modern industrial working class), the massive population influx into urban centers did not necessarily culminate in a desired cultural effect of new 'deruralized' individual with progressive cultural preferences. Instead, the new socialist man came to be more of an individual with the cultural roots firmly entrenched in the native rural *milieu* but with the everyday living reality tied to the new urban setting — in other words, stuck half way between countryside and city. Being so arrested in peasant-to-gentleman transition, this transplanted ruralite was marked by a dual or, better yet, split socio-cultural personality, struggling to at the same time reject and affirm both its peasant and urban side. The peasant side was deemed as backward within the new urban environment, and therefore rejected. But, at the same time, it felt as intrinsic to one's being, and was therefore affirmed. The urban side, because it was imposed by the new social setting as the only proper and acceptable way of being, was affirmed. But, because of its recent and artificial implanting, it also felt alien and was therefore negated (unconsciously, for the most part). The final, unanticipated, outcome of the strategy of 'deruralization' was a hybridized class of 'urban bodies with rural souls' with their socio-economic being grounded in the urban social setting, but with their true socio-cultural (or perhaps better, 'psychological-cultural') being overwhelmingly captivated by the forgone rural *milieu*.

So how is it that Yugoslavia's post-World War II demographic shift did not result, as anticipated, in the creation of a new progressive urbanite but in a 'pseudo-urban semi-culturalite'? Fundamentally, the substantive influx of rural population into urban areas brought about 'conspicuous encroachment' of 'shepherd-villager culture and mentality' (Bulić 1984a) on the social space hitherto exclusive to 'urban-progressive' cultural purview, resulting in a socio-cultural collision of two fundamentally opposed cultural worldviews — metropolitan and parochial. Under the threat of being 'demetropolicized' (Labudović 1984) by the parochial culture, the metropolitan culture saw it only appropriate to strike back with 'cosmopolitization' through assimilation, using a tactic of devaluating parochial socio-cultural values and affirming the metropolitan ones. Thus, the 'resistance strategy' was centered on scoffing, implicitly or explicitly, the norms and values constitutive of parochial cultural worldview and exposing them, with a strong normative note, as incommensurable with the metropolitan socio-cultural setting. Underlying it all was a rather simple but highly potent normative dictum of 'metropolitan equals good, parochial equals bad' — or 'be urban or be no one'.[21]

In the end, the creation of the new socialist man as 'progressive in outlook' and 'socialist in content' required a full-fledged acceptance of the urban-metropolitan and an outright denunciation of the rural-parochial by individuals who, ultimately, regarded the latter, rather than the former, as intrinsic to their true socio-cultural self. And even with all the enticing promises and apparent benefits of the 'new tomorrow', this appears simply to have been too optimistic an expectation.

SFRY — Yugoslavia, the Second Time around: A Résumé

From the very beginning until the very end, the building of second Yugoslavia was continuous work in progress. Premised on the socialist-humanist ideal, the project was centered on two nation-building tactics: regime-strategies and new socialist culture. The former had the task of creating a viable form of socialist political governance that would reconcile the political demands of the new socialist ideology with the multi-national social and economic realities of the new society in the making. The latter was centered on creating new cultural foundation for the country and establishing new set of cultural values and priorities that would bolster the vision of Yugoslavia as the socialist-humanist community 'in the true measure of man'. The practical foundation for both was the new socialist man as an embodiment of all political and cultural intents of the new society, and the social agency central to their long-term implementation. The success of the nation-building project thus ultimately rested on the success of forging the new socialist man.

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[21] A good way to think of this is to look at it as a strategy of 'fighting demetropolization through remetropolization', i.e. as reclaiming encroached urban space by neutralizing (through the dictum of 'mandatory cosmopolitization of the parochialites') the effect of demetropolization brought about by the influx of rural folk into cosmopolitan *milieu*.

So how successful was the project of new socialist man? If we evaluate it on the basis of the intended and expected outcome, the overall result was partial success and partial failure. Failure because, in its initial phase, the forging of new citizen resulted in creation of a 'cultural hybrid' for the most part emblematic of an individual alienated — rather than liberated — by the new urban socio-cultural *milieu*, and, as such, a far cry from the new socialist man envisioned by Yugoslavia's political leadership. In its best incarnation, this 'pseudo-urban semi-culturalite' was a 'half-finished project' of socialist working-class ideological preferences but, overwhelmingly, not of Western bourgeois cultural sensibilities. The project's success was the significant expansion of Yugoslavia's 'urban base' by explosive country-to-town migrations and, in turn, practical legitimation of urban socio-cultural experience as (no matter how mut(il)ated and hybridized) the *de facto* existing and socially consequential dimension of the country's overall cultural life. Moreover, the expanded urban *milieu* provided a socio-cultural setting authentic enough for the emergence of first 'properly socialized' Yugoslavs, i.e. a generation of outrightly urban sensibilities and with decidedly progressive *and* socialist socio-cultural values. These true 'new socialist men' — the 'rock'n'roll generation' of 1970's and 1980's — were the offspring of 'pseudo-urban semi-culturalites' and a cohort whose socio-cultural and political vistas were fully shaped by the parameters of socialist Yugoslavia, and whose understanding of their immediate and broader societal surrounding was — consciously or unconsciously — embedded in the country's normative principles and criteria. Thus the project of new socialist man did, in the long run, bring about the desired outcome, although that outcome was rather late in development and not so much the consequence of a conscious and planned social-engineering strategy but rather its more-or-less natural and logical progression.

On a broader plane, the shaping of Yugoslavia's cultural *conscience collectif* itself approximated closely the dynamic of building the new socialist man. In its initial phase, the emerging cultural imaginary of the country was a hybridized incarnation of the proclaimed 'progressive in outlook/socialist in content' ideal, born out of the collision of two hitherto separate and mutually exclusive cultural purviews — the urban-progressive and the rural-parochial. Like the transplanted ruralite of the initial wave of country-to-town migrations, the Yugoslav cultural *conscience collectif* was of 'split personality', struggling to reconcile its two constituent polar opposites and define itself through their simultaneous negation and affirmation. It was only with the emergence of the first generation of 'properly socialized' Yugoslavs that the envisioned cultural *conscience collectif* would be given its first full-fledged articulation, but *not as the mainstream and general cultural expression of the country but rather as its specialized and highly localized incarnation.* In other words, the *true* culture of SFR Yugoslavia (like its 'human constituent') was never *the* culture of SFR Yugoslavia but only — and at best — one of the parallelly existing 'cultural universes'. The historic effort of the 'properly socialized' Yugoslavs through the music of commitment of *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans* was to elevate the country's *true* cultural *conscience collectif* to the position of *the* cultural *conscience collectif*, and bridge the cultural gap between the reality and the idea(l) of Yugoslav socialist community.

CHAPTER 3

Yugoslavia, Culture, and Popular Culture: The Discoveries of Youth and Rock'n'roll

In Chapter 2 I have provided what I called a 'minimalist political/cultural contextualization' as a necessary jumping off point for dealing with my central problematic — cultural life of Yugoslav society and, specifically, youth culture as it relates to popular music and, in particular, rock'n'roll. As we have seen, the building of new Yugoslav society as a community committed to the organizing principles of federalism and socialist democracy was predicated on forging out the most effective modes of political governance (i.e. regime-strategies) that would, through providing conditions for equal economic development of each nation and nationality within Yugoslavia, create a mechanism for national equality of Yugoslav peoples and reconcile the (politicized) socio-cultural and economic demands of the new state and society. This process, in turn, was informed by the formulation of the new cultural presuppositions reflecting an idea(l) of 'new socialist spirit', whose strategic purpose was to re-socialize Yugoslav citizenry into the norms and values of a new socialist community and to affirm and reconcile 'mono-partyism' and 'multi-nationalism' as its two polarities. This reconciliation depended on the invention of the new socialist man and the adoption of cultural *praxis* of 'progressive in outlook/socialist in content' as two central conceptual linchpins for the new cultural model that underpinned the new Socialist and Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

In this chapter I want to turn my attention to Yugoslavia's cultural life and examine in some detail it normative and institutional dimensions, and its relationship to the new form of popular culture that arose in the mid-to-late 1970's. In dealing with the former, I will give particular consideration to the Yugoslav model of new socialist culture and consider its philosophical, pragmatic-developmental and personal-cultural foundations, and reflect on these in light of the general socialist-humanist conceptions of Yugoslav cultural *praxis*. In addition, I will give some attention to the logic of cultural management and protection practices as the mechanisms instituted to maintain and preserve the essential assumptions of the new socialist culture. In considering the relationship between Yugoslavia's official cultural life and the new popular-cultural developments of the mid-to-late 1970's, I will focus in particular the nature of what I term as the discourse of 'our youth', and pay specific attention to the problem(s) of its empty signification. In this context, I will deal explicitly with the discrepancies between the official(ly sanctioned) cultural-political understanding of youth as an abstract generality and the reality of youth as the real-existing, but invisible, socio-cultural agency in Yugoslav society. This discrepancy will be the chapter's central preoccupation.

Through the examination of the relationship between Yugoslavia's official and popular culture, I argue that their 'collision' generated two discoveries on the part of the country's cultural-political officialdom — youth and rock'n'roll. The discovery of youth was a new form of awareness about the need to come to terms with Yugoslav youth as the real-existing socio-cultural agency in society, and to formulate new understanding based on empirical examinations of its living experiences — social, cultural, and political-ideological. At the same time, the discovery of rock'n'roll was a new realization about the centrality of rock-music as Yugoslav youth's medium of expression. Therefore, it was a recognition of the need to understand rock'n'roll as the real-existing popular-cultural force in society in terms of its societal-cultural and cultural-aesthetic aspects and implications. Together, the two discoveries generated a fundamentally new form of engagement with both Yugoslav youth and Yugoslav rock'n'roll by the official society, effectively forging a novel relationship between the new socialist culture and its new popular-cultural incarnation.

I will examine these issues in the order indicated and start with the first piece of the puzzle — Yugoslavia's model of new socialist culture. Thereafter, I will consider in detail its discourse of our youth and the resultant discoveries of youth and rock'n'roll.

Yugoslavia's Cultural Model: Postulates, Principles, Practices

In all respects, central to Yugoslavia's cultural defining was the project of socialist nation-building, premised on radical reformulation of hitherto existing political, economic and social parameters. The interconnection between the cultural defining and nation-building was premised on a recognition that each and every society rests on socialization (or, to borrow from Bob Marley, 'mental slavery') of its citizens — namely, that the success(ful life) of any society is built on the ability to train its citizenry to think within the framework of pre-formulated societal norms, values and realities, and accept these as natural ways of being in the world. Culture, in this context, was seen as the principal means through which individuals living in a particular society come to see and understand themselves within the parameters of that society's overall normative postulates. The successful enculturation (to recast the above in sociological terms) is of particular importance to new and young societies that seek to build their foundations on radically new and hitherto non-existing principles of social life and organization, and, in doing so, effectively introduce their population to a fundamentally new way of being in the world. As applied to Yugoslav nation-building, all of this translated into an understanding that the new state's overall cultural policy, through which the country itself is to be defined, ought to reflect the essence of the society's new socialist spirit and, therefore, be structured and implemented in the manner conducive to its successful inculcation — i.e. that there ought to be a synergy between the fundamental character of Yugoslav society and the fundamental character of Yugoslav culture, and that the latter's principal 'enculturation principle' should be centered on instilling the former within Yugoslav citizenry. In simple terms, the success(ful existence) of the new socialist Yugoslavia equaled the success(ful building and implementation) of the new Yugoslavia's socialist cultural policy.

So what were the central postulates of Yugoslav cultural policy and the conception of culture in Yugoslav society? Here we can distinguish three fundamental building blocks: (1) philosophical, (2) pragmatic-developmental, and (3) personal-cultural. The first one is grounded in the leadership's ideological commitment to socialist humanism as the principle underlying all aspects and dimensions of social life and relations in Yugoslav society. The essence of socialist humanism, which is based on Karl Marx's philosophy of human *praxis* outlined in his early works, is concern with 'man' as a free individual and, therefore, a personality, and with (the existence or realization of) social conditions requisite for the fullest possible actualization of that freedom, both in its individual and collective (i.e. 'species-being') manifestations. Accordingly, the foundational claim of socialist humanism is that human freedom, posited as a freedom from any form of oppressive force, internal or external, that stifles the possibility of full and self-propelled development of individuality and personality, can be accomplished only through the development of social conditions in all spheres of social life that enable its actualization to the fullest possible extent and potential (see Fromm 1966). A true society, thus, is *human* society, i.e. the form of social life and organization that provides the political, economic and cultural resources conducive to the full realization of one's freedom and, therefore, humanity.

One of the key dimensions of the philosophical postulate of Yugoslavia's cultural policy was the framing of the country's cultural *praxis* as a conceptual antipode to 'civic culture' with its debasing, manipulative, and instrumental effect[22]. As Ralić (1979: 23) explains, essential to civic culture is "bring[ing] the time for culture down to commercialized entertainment and crass tourist merchandising" and replacing the real cultural needs and values with pseudo-needs and pseudo-values (see also Jurković 1984). In contrast, the core of socialist culture and cultural *praxis*

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[22] Although built into the very logic of cultural *praxis*, this conceptual dichotomy became increasingly important in the late 1960's and early 1970's as Yugoslav society became increasingly consumerist and influenced by the very 'debasing, manipulative, and instrumental effects' of retrograde civic culture.

— i.e. the culture of associated work — is (or ought to be) the "unity of historical, labour-productive and self-management creativity of working people", and a transcendence of the notion of culture as something left for 'free and leisure time' and intrinsically divorced from essential life-processes. Therefore, the aim of the socialist model of culture is establishing full unity between life-needs, labour-needs and cultural needs, and merging them into a single life-process that is as creative as it is cultural and as it is material, all at the same time. Ultimately, culture under the socialist model is posited as something not divorced from essential human creative processes but, on the contrary, as the full expression and manifestation thereof — or, put differently, as a means of actualizing 'free personality, free labor, free creativity'.

In specific terms, the project of the socialist cultural model, sanctioned by the Yugoslav constitution, was as following:

> - the most immediate connection of all cultural subjects in our society, enabling all working people and citizens to become an active force in bettering, through collaborations with artists and cultural workers, the cultural sphere of their work and life/living
> - awakening and enriching the natural propensity of people to approach work and life in general creatively
> - encouraging more meaningful and creative use of free time, especially by those social groups that do not have clearly defined place in the social division of labour (youth, children, homemakers, retirees…) (unsigned 1984d: 13)

In other words, it was about creating and sanctioning the forms of 'social being in the world' that would encourage and stimulate the unity of life, labour, and leisure in culturally enriching and affirming a manner. The primary role of the state in building the socialist-humanist model of cultural practice was to provide structural and institutional mechanisms for the successful actualization of 'free and creative cultural activity' as inherent in the life-activity of individuals living in a truly humanist society. Or as Dragan Kremer, reflecting on socialist cultural politics in relation to entertainment industry, puts it:

> Socialist cultural politics does not mean subvention of certain releases and programs but a legal stimulation for the creation of different mechanisms that would shake up the lethargic

> entertainment industry and do away with its monopoly on the choice and presentation of a very broad and significant part of culture in the media. Socialist cultural politics has to have its foundations in self-development of each individual. And this means a stimulation of creative work and activities that would enable unhampered development of the young creatives and their self-decision in the sphere of artistic expression. (Kremer 1985b: 17)

Grounded in the philosophical postulates of socialist humanism, the ultimate vision of Yugoslavia as a community of voluntarily associated free nations and nationalities, organized by the principle of socialist democracy, was a society that would enable the full realization of one's humanity and provide the necessary social and cultural resources for its continuous development. In a word, it was a vision of fundamentally *human* society. Consequently, the nature of the country's cultural policy through which the nation was to be defined was seen as reflective of that humanist ethos, projecting and reinforcing all the fundamentals of socialist humanism as the country's foundational ideological orientation and organizational commitment. Thus, the humanist parameter as one of the central postulates of Yugoslavia's cultural policy and a principle of the nation's cultural defining.

The second postulate — pragmatic-developmental — had its source in the overall economic reality of the post-World War II Yugoslav society. Yugoslavia, while aspiring to be a socialist state, was far from being a fully industrialized nation ready to make, according to Marxist theory, its 'great leap forward' into socialism. In other words, this postulate stemmed from the country's predicament of skipping an evolutionary step and undertaking a *socialist* revolution without ever passing through its evolutionary prerequisite, the *industrial* revolution. This resulted in the country's leadership fully embracing the philosophy of developmentalism and modernization that posited the measurement of social progress as a degree of the overall economic development and the improvement of industrial means and forces of production. In practical terms, this translated into a commitment to a parallel project of both industrial *and* social(ist) revolution and, moreover, into understanding and measuring the degree of success of the latter in terms of the degree of success of the former. In other words, "technical advance and growth in productive forces [came to be taken as] the index for the degree of socialism and social progress attained" (Korać 1966:

11). To be on the path to socialism thus meant pursuing the course of modernization and economic development, i.e. approximating as successfully as possible the economic structure of the already industrially revolutionized Western world.

This coupling of socialism and developmentalism/modernism meant, for the country's cultural policy, adoption of a forward-looking cultural principle which sought to prioritize future-oriented forms of cultural thought and to advocate, implicitly or explicitly, new ways of cultural being in the world. In this context, to be cultured and/or to have culture, both as a national community and an individual partaking in the life of that community, meant embracing the new and modern (i.e. progressive) cultural forms, norms, and values — or, in terms of pragmatic-developmental postulate, transplanting the philosophy of developmentalism and modernism into the cultural realm of social life. Hence progressive-in-outlook as one of the key markers of Yugoslav model of new socialist culture.

The third — personal-cultural — postulate had its source in the problem of a demographic profile of the country, i.e. its highly non-urban nature. This postulate drew upon the afore-mentioned application of the philosophy of developmentalism and modernism to the cultural realm of society's life, translated into belief that to be culturally modern sense meant embracing the 'higher' (i.e. more developed) forms of cultural expression and abandoning 'primitive' and 'regressive' forms of personal-cultural being. In other words, it meant acculturating oneself into the forwardly oriented forms of culture that elevated one's cultural, and thus human, being from the retrograde world of un(der)developed (cultural) conditions of life. Any form of culture that pointed to or reflected the latter was to be considered as the culture of the past and therefore inappropriate to (or incommensurable with) the demands of the new form of social life and relations. Those forms of culture were relics — cultural tokens of the past — and could not be used as models for the future; their 'primitiveness' was in their outdatedness and inadequacy to reflect the essential nature of the 'modern (socialist) future awaiting'.

The personal-cultural postulate, therefore, addressed Yugoslavia's conspicuous demographic inadequacy to meet the challenges of society's socialist/modernist turn and the need to supply sufficient human base for its successful realization. Its starting point was the credo that the new modern society required the new modern culture and the new modern 'man', and that, therefore, 'a struggle for culture (and cultured 'man') was ultimately the struggle for socialism' (to paraphrase one of the popular slogans of the day). The new culture — the culture of the modern — came to be posited as the culture of the urban-industrial (i.e. the culture of the progressive social forces of industrially developed Western societies), and construed as the culture of sophistication and heightened cultural sensibilities. Its strategic function was to free the Yugoslav citizenry from the shackles of its own 'primitiveness' and cultural un(der)development and, in doing so, open up venues for transcending cultural limitations incongruent with the overall orientation of industrial-economic — and thus general social — development and modernization. In the context of the country's cultural policy, this translated into favoring progressive cultural forms (i.e. high Western culture) as the new cultural standards of Yugoslav society and as the criteria for assessing both individual and overall societal cultural wellbeing and advancement.

Ultimately, Yugoslavia's cultural policy came to reflect the basic framework of the three postulates on which it was built. Its overall purpose was to advocate 'socialist-in-content/progressive-in-outlook' cultural experience(s) as the *de facto* official and officially sanctioned cultural model for the country, and as the cultural prism through which the Yugoslav nation and its citizens would come to understand and define themselves. In addition, the policy was the foundation for the establishment and development of the country's 'cultural infrastructure' as both the carrier and protector of the prioritized forms of culture — in other words, as the institutional means through which the (official) culture of Yugoslavia was (re)presented as such.

It is evident from the above that Yugoslavia's cultural defining was premised on a more-or-less clear vision of the preferred cultural model, and that there was a distinct sense that fostering the cultural *praxis* based on the philosophical ethos of socialist humanism and the postulates of developmentalism and modernism would yield the most desirable cultural and overall soci(et)al outcome. The 'clear and present cultural vision', however, also made it evident that there was a need to introduce the mechanisms of cultural defense for the purposes of, on the one hand, promoting and prioritizing, and, on the other hand, protecting what was taken for *the* cultural experience of the country and its population. Their strategic purpose would be to 'separate cultural wheat from cultural weed' and demonstrate beyond any doubt the obvious benefit of 'cultivating the weeded cultural wheat' — in other words, to stimulate and reinforce the flourishing of true culture in all spheres of soci(et)al life.

Broadly, the mechanisms of cultural defense worked on two planes: institutional and normative. The first pertained to a country-wide network of cultural/entertainment outlets (such as radio and television stations, press and magazines, etc.) whose purpose, at least in theory, was to disseminate and propagate the 'socialist-in-content/progressive-in-outlook' form of culture and in doing so act as the agents of enculturation of Yugoslav populace. In sociological terms, their task was to socialize individuals into soci(et)ally desirable forms of cultural experiences and practices. The second had the purpose of mobilizing the country's progressive intelligentsia and a variety of experts as the ultimate authorities in cultural evaluation, and setting out definitive criteria for recognizing the real culture and separating it from 'pseudo-cultural' expressions and practices. Its function, in a word, was cultural arbitrage.

Important to note here is that both institutional and normative mechanisms of cultural defense were not functioning according to the firm and officially established set of operational rules and criteria but were, in large measure, working through personal discretion by individuals in the positions of either institutional and/or general cultural power and through an application of socialist conscience and consciousness in the matters of cultural dissemination and cultural arbitrage. The only criteria of cultural evaluation were the general postulates of the Yugoslav cultural model and the central cultural principle of progressive-in-outlook/socialist-in-content, along with an assumption that those in charge of looking out for best interests of national culture were in full command of these (and of their meaning) and could therefore use them as the basis for exercising cultural authority. How, and to what extent, they were applied when it came to the daily business of cultural management was something that ultimately rested on the per-case sound socialist judgment of individual cultural professionals and experts. The assumption was, simply, that those mandated to serve and protect the national culture were good socialists and that, as such, they would know what to do and how to handle sensitive or problematic cultural discrepancies and aberrations. In this sense, the working of institutional and normative mechanisms of cultural defense relied overwhelmingly on the principle of 'socialist cultural self-management'.

New Socialist Culture and Youth (Culture): The Discourse of 'Our Youth'

The Yugoslav cultural model and its application (and defense) operated through an ideal(ized) projection of the desired model of social(ist) organization and an ideal(ized) vision of the desired social(ist) agency as its human constituent. In other words, it assumed the desired as the real and conducted the business of culture (and society) on the premise of one-to-one correspondence between the two. This translated into a socio-political discourse which constantly invoked the notions of 'our society' and 'our people' as a way of substantiating unequivocally, while in reality not saying much or indeed anything at all, the claims to truth regarding the 'actually-existing realities of Yugoslav society' and 'real-existing Yugoslav soci(et)al mass'. This discourse also credentialized the implied intimate knowledge about the nature the country's socio-cultural materialities and deep insight into the actual socio-cultural needs, desires and aspirations of the populace. Its end effect was the firm belief within the ranks of political officialdom and cultural authorities that they really knew and understood 'their society' and 'their people', and that, therefore, they had a firm grasp on what is best for both and on how to provide whatever that 'best' might be. This socio-cultural certitude, in turn, was the ultimate source of Yugoslav leadership's committed belief that the Yugoslav model of new socialist culture and its embodiment of the new socialist man were tailored according to the 'real measure of Yugoslav (hu)man(ity)'.

In reality, however, the above translated into a form of 'abstract realism' whereby an understanding of (the specific categories of) people — who they were, what they thought of themselves and society, and how they related to the larger realities of societal life — was based on a 'dumb generality' (to borrow from Marx) and on the cultural-political rhetoric rather than on a true practical insight derived from real-life encounters and experiences. This, of course, created all kinds of tensions between the official(ly recognized) perception of 'our people' and 'our people's needs' and the reality of 'real living individuals' as they actually were and as they existed in society. It also generated discrepancies in the ways of thinking about how to deal with the real-existing problems of people in society, how to address their needs in very practical terms, and how to reconcile the tensions between the people's understanding of themselves and the system's notions about the people's 'essential nature'. The default 'logic-in-use' exercised by the cultural-political officialdom was to interpret the real-life manifestations in terms of the general socio-cultural model, assess the situation on the basis of the degree to which the real deviated from the assumed, and, in the end, offer official pronouncements based on the rhetoric of 'what needs to be done' in light of the real-existing deviation(s). The opposite — that is, trying to understand the realities of people's circumstances and the real nature of their dispositions towards society on their own terms rather than in light of the presumed general socio-cultural model — was very seldom, if ever, the case.

The problem of youth and youth culture that first emerged in the mid-1970 as rock'n'roll gained prominence in Yugoslav society is perhaps the most illustrative example of the above. In the context of the official cultural-political discourse, Yugoslav youth was denominated by empty signifier of 'our youth', which voided the signified of all its social and cultural specificity and substance: as 'our youth', the youth of Yugoslavia was interpellated as a subject without (cultural) identity and as a position without (social) location — ultimately, as *innominate*. 'Who was the youth spoken of?' 'What was its basic structural makeup?' 'What were its principal social and cultural sensibilities?' 'How about youth's understanding of itself and its position in society?' 'What of its thoughts on and about society they live in?' These — among others — were the questions to which the official discourse of 'empty signification' simply could not deliver meaningful answers, even if it wanted to. Its only deliverance, really, was a 'mirage of youth' conjured up as the projection of the political officialdom's vision of tuned-for-socialism (therefore, 'our') generational cohort of particular age (therefore, 'youth').

Thus the official insight into 'our youth' was confined to, on the one hand, the 'Durkheimian sentiment' of citizens-in-training and, on the other, the generational generalities whereby each cohort of youth and its standing with respect to society was understood in terms of its contributions to the building and furthering of Yugoslav socialist goals. The former relegated Yugoslav youth to the status of a pre-social societal mass that had yet to be initiated into the ways of society and made into its fully functional members. The view held by the country's officialdom was that 'our youth', because of its unfinished educational socialization, was simply not ready to face the challenges of full-fledged participation in society, and that, therefore, this participation had to be withheld until socialization was duly completed. Analogously, youth's access to, and involvement in, the official venues and established mechanisms of societal participation figured as, essentially, an 'educational polygon' rather than truly substantive participatory engagement. The latter — generational generalities about youth — provided a neat, if somewhat sweepingly non-differentiating, 'periodic table of youth' which allocated the essence of three generations to their respective heroic offerings to Yugoslav society: thus, the first generation of youth was distinguished by the heroism of waging the socialist revolutionary struggle during World War II; the second by the heroism of post-World War II rebuilding of the country; and the third by the heroism of applying its talents and aptitudes to socially useful undertakings in the struggle for socialism and self-managing social(ist) relations (see Vlahović 1979a). The meeting point between the two was the notion that the affirmation of 'our youth' as the full-fledged social(ist) agency in society rested on instituting a form of educational socialization that would enable the internalization and unfolding of the anticipated — and desired — form of heroism commensurate with the overall requirements of Yugoslav socialist community. Coupled with this was a perception that the problems of youth in Yugoslav socialist community (if there were any, to begin with) were, in the final analysis, the problems of properly attending to the disposable means and consequential end(s) of the required educational socialization.

As it happens, the rise of rock'n'roll in Yugoslav society in the early-to-mid 1970's and the complementary conspicuous presence of burgeoning youth culture put to test many of 'abstract realist' assumptions of the country's official cultural-political discourse. As the radically new popular-cultural phenomena both offered impressions of youth fundamentally different from those dreamt up by the official society and, in doing so, exposed the lacunae in the officialdom's certitude about its intimate understanding of 'our youth' and its essence, its attitude, its needs and desires. All of a sudden, it became evident that the conventional ways of understanding were not only severely lacking but that, in all of their abstract realism, they obscured more than they revealed. In giving youth a voice of its own and enabling it to engage with the Yugoslav socialist community from the viewpoint of a fully, and authentically, forged identity and the position of a fully, and uniquely, enunciated subjectivity, rock-music thus effectively de-monopolized official society's 'claims to truth' regarding a particular category of Yugoslav citizenry, exposing the rhetoric behind these claims as self-evidently a discourse of empty signification. In this, rock'n'roll and youth culture put a mirror before the society's political authorities and cultural experts, forcing them to face, 'with sober senses', the nature — and limits — of their own social and cultural (mis)understandings.

The collision between the cultural-political rhetoric of 'our youth' and the new popular-cultural discourse of youth espoused most prominently through rock-music generated two discoveries on the part of official society: discovery of youth as the real-existing social agency in Yugoslav society, and discovery of rock'n'roll as the youth's real-existing socio-cultural medium of expression and as a significant socio-cultural force in Yugoslav society. The first discovery resulted in a realization that the proper understanding of youth required de-universalization of 'our youth' rhetoric and, effectively, formulation of a new understanding grounded in empirical examinations of its living experiences. The second discovery led to the rise of a new socio-cultural discourse within official society whose ultimate aim was to understand the new phenomenon of rock'n'roll, offer its cultural evaluation, and assess its societal impact (on youth). In the context of the first discovery, two focal questions — 'who, in fact, is our youth?', and 'what do we (really) know about our young people?' — animated the first wave of (proto-)sociological studies on youth whose essential objective was to establish the socio-cultural profile — no matter how preliminary and, therefore, rudimentary — of the new 'rock'n'roll generation' and to assess the nature of its relationship to the new form(s) of popular culture and its condition (with)in Yugoslav socialist community (according to Mihajlović (1987) the first Yugoslav survey-study of youth was done in 1973 and the follow-up in 1985). The focal question in the context of second discovery was 'how and what do we think about rock'n'roll and its relationship to youth?'. This translated into a host of public debates about the nature of rock-music, its place and role in socialist society, and its wider socio-cultural impact and implications. The end-objective in both cases was to provide the official society with a fresh understanding — if not appreciation — of the new unanticipated (but undeniably real) development within the Yugoslav model of new socialist culture, and, in doing so, enable the cultural-political officialdom to come to terms with the 'puzzle of youth'.

It is important to note here that while the surge of studies and debates about Yugoslav youth, rock'n'roll, culture and society undeniably generated a new level understanding of the problem at hand, they were firmly grounded in the normative constraints of the model of new socialist culture. To some degree, this limited the nature of the new socio-cultural insights because it prevented unfiltered appreciation of the discovered socio-cultural realities and their assessment outside of the official defined normative boundaries of socialist cultural ethics and aesthetics. It also, and perhaps more significantly, tainted the nature of the mechanisms and the strategies created for dealing with the problems of 'new youth' and rock'n'roll in Yugoslav socialist community. In the end, these two difficulties, each to its own degree, proved to be the principal shortcomings in the thematization and problematization of the two discoveries — new Yugoslav youth and Yugoslav rock'n'roll.

With this in mind, let me turn to the specifics of the two discoveries.

The Discovery of Youth: New Insights, Old Dilemmas

As already observed, within the official cultural-political discourse, Yugoslav youth was interpellated *via* the non-differentiating nomenclature of 'our youth'. This denomination made a sweeping generalization about the character of and about variations within the category of population it was supposed to appellate. It ultimately hid more than revealed about the nature of one particular strata of Yugoslav citizenry. The rise and legitimization of rock'n'roll and youth culture in the mid-to-late 1970's presented the country's officialdom with a fundamentally new set of popular-cultural challenges and realities, and made it evident that proper understanding of these required new cognitive insights about youth as the real-existing social agency with its own unique social, cultural and, more broadly, political-ideological specificities. This, in turn, prompted a wide range of studies that aimed at offering a socio-cultural profile of the new rock'n'roll generation based on, as much as possible, a non-rhetorical empirical dissection.

The 'new youth' research focused on three principal aspects of Yugoslav youth: social, cultural, and political-ideological. The overall objective was to, firstly, understand youth in terms of its own particular lifestyles and the corresponding forms of social experiences and modes of social being; secondly, come to terms with the subcultural dimension of youth's cultural presence and expression (with)in society; and, thirdly, assess the nature of youth's sentiments towards the foundational ideological values and political practices/processes of the socialist community. Most, if not all, of the research was grounded in a realization that successful examination of the realities of 'new youth' required de-universalization of the official cultural-political discourse of 'our youth' and positing of the more veritable marker — or, perhaps more accurately, criterion — of differentiation within the general category of youth. In light of the general understanding and evidence about the source and location (and therefore nature) of the new popular-cultural phenomena, it was established that 'urban' figured as (one of) the most important variable(s) in the overall riddle of 'new youth': hence, the de-universalization along the lines of urban vs. non-urban[23] youth. Ultimately, the socio-cultural profile of youth that emerged in the process of piecing together[24] the 'puzzle of youth' was the profile of *urban* youth.

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[23] 'Non-urban' is used here deliberately because it is meant to denote a differentiation between particular social, cultural, and political-ideological specificities rather than a distinction between specific living locales (implied if 'rural' is used instead). In the context of urban/non-urban dichotomy, therefore, one can be demonstrably non-urban despite living in urban environment as much as one can be demonstrably urban within a non-urban milieu. To paraphrase the front man of *Zabranjeno pušenje*, Nele Karajlić, the distinction here is one 'of philosophy rather than geography'.

[24] Most of studies on youth were fairly limited in scope and were confined to major urban centers. Taken piecemeal, they offered not-necessarily-connected windows into the realities of Yugoslav urban youth. Piecing them together, therefore, is crucial for getting a sense of youth's socio-cultural profile.

New Urban Youth: Social Aspect

The research focusing on social profiling of urban youth was concerned with two principal aspects of youth's social existence and presence in Yugoslav society: lifestyle differentiations and their implications for socio-cultural preferences of distinct youth lifestyle-groupings, and youth spaces and places of gathering and socialization as 'conveyer belts' of new social values. With regards to the former, a survey of Zagreb high-school youth identified eight distinct lifestyles in relation to the favorite type of leisure activity (intellectually engaged, traditional, sport-and-technology, conflictual relations with parents, unadjusted-and-bored, faith and political disinterest, behavioral independence, and hanging out, spending and trendiness) (unsigned 1983j). Out of the eight, the research isolated traditional, intellectually engaged, and 'leisurely' lifestyles as the most prominent. Common to the last two was that the youth who pursued them came from families with a higher social and financial standing — i.e. middle-class background. According to the findings, the intellectually engaged lifestyle was pursued mostly by females and older youth who tended to visit bookstores, libraries and artistic galleries more often, and were generally more interested in the issues of culture and in the social-political domain. The 'leisurely' youth was in general decidedly urban in that it followed fashion trends, focused on sex and personal relationships, spent most of its time in coffee shops, and had an allowance that enabled it to indulge in their leisurely pastimes and pleasures. Traditional youth, in contrast, generally came from the families with semi-urban and rural background. Its parents were positioned lower on the social latter and worked lower-paid jobs, and its families often consisted of stay-home moms and larger number of children. Traditional youth's households did not possess more advanced technological amenities (such as phone). Their home library was small or nonexistent, and there was no cottage house or extensive travel. For the most part, traditional youth spent much of its free time with the family and attended to family matters; its interest in daily affairs was for the most part superficial. According to the research, traditional youth had no affinity for rock-music and tended to gravitate towards country music and 'lighter' pop (*šlager*). Interestingly enough, the commonality shared by the youth pursuing/belonging to the three lifestyles was their apolitical attitude and disinterestedness in participating in the political life of society — perhaps due to their age (high-school teenagers) or, possibly, due to the overall generational disconnection from the political process as such. Somewhat strangely, this aspect was not explored by the researchers.

Focusing on youth leisure, the survey of Belgrade youth (Đuverović 1980) revealed that the most important leisure activity by far was involvement with music in whatever shape or form; the second was reading popular magazines, and the third was friendship and love. In line with the findings of Zagreb researchers, the survey revealed that the need for socio-political engagement was at a distant twelfth place, after movie-going at the tenth place and the need for physical rest and relaxation at the eleventh. Thus, it would appear that political consciousness of Belgrade — and, by extension, Yugoslav — youth population was next to nonexistent.[25] Although music stood as the most important leisure activity of Belgrade youth, the research found that there was a stylistic split within the different youth groupings on the preferred music genre: while working-class youth enjoyed folk- and lighter pop-music, more intellectually inclined youth, high-school teenagers, and students preferred rock'n'roll (see also Kosović 1981a). As Đuverović (1980: 6) observed, "there is a confirmation of a suggestion that new aspects of music life take place within the circles of intellectual youth in particular and among the better-standing portion of young generation in general".

According to research, the centrality of music in the life of urban youth bore directly upon the nature of youth's spaces and places of leisure and the forms of socialization pursued. Two social settings, in this context, dominated: coffee shops, and music and dance clubs. In terms of youth's daytime places of gathering, coffee shops (*kafići*) tended to be the most popular youth spots and, in many respects, the 'social monuments' of the new youth culture. As Todorović (1983d: 17) noted, springing in the mid-to-late seventies, the 'coffee-shop phenomenon' fast became the most lucrative and most accepted addition to youth's cultural palette, with coffee shops establishing themselves as *the* centers of youth's daily social activities — or, in Todorović's view, the centers of 'inconsequential communication'. The main aspect of inconsequential communication was the 'philosophy of passivity', or the brain-shutdown attitude adopted by the patrons of coffee-shop spaces: "[t]he rules of behavior in coffee shops are fairly simple: no thinking, no analyzing, no bullshitting. Be a Body, strike a pose, pretend" (Todorović 1983d: 17). For Todorović, this passivity of youth's mind and spirit, this mindless hedonism, was highly tragic and perhaps suggestive of a substantive change in youth's mindset: "if rock was the music of struggle for a generation who was late for the war, but wanted to fight, the coffee shops are the womb of a generation with the war ahead, but the war unwanted" (Todorović 1983d: 17). From this viewpoint, the youth's embrace of coffee-shop phenomenon was suggestive of the generational disconnect and disengagement from the real-existing realities of Yugoslav socialist community. As such, it was, at least as far as Todorović is concerned, deeply disquieting.

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[25] To some (and perhaps minor) degree, this was offset by youth's (partial) ability to comment on the satisfaction with the workings of political institutions: overall, Belgrade youth was satisfied more with political institutions operating locally and less satisfied with, or unable to comment on, the ones removed from the local urban settings; the most favorable evaluation was given to local organizations that were doing something practical and useful for the wellbeing of the city and city's youth.

If the coffee shops figured as the social monuments of the daytime youth culture, music and dance clubs were the focal points of youth's nightlife and after-hour socialization. While the official society did not consider youth's club circuits problematic as such, what it found troublesome was the wedge they were driving between the organized and dis-organized forms of entertainment — i.e. the fact that a certain number of clubs sprung up under private ownership and, therefore, outside direct societal supervision and guidance. Although rather popular with (a certain profile of) urban youth, private clubs were criticized by those advocating more egalitarian and constructive forms of youth entertainment and pastime as the places of disarticulated mindlessness and, therefore, as demeaning to the social sensibilities of Yugoslav youth. As Kustić, for example, puts it:

> It is a fact that Youth Organization cannot, with its activity, influence, etc., close the inadequate youth gathering places where the hecto-liters of alcohol flow, where youth dances to the tune of entrance-fee charges and smokes incessantly, and where absurdly loud and bad music is being played. Steering the youth away from that kind of place, where they roam like sheep and, on top of it, pay to be molested, can be done only if there is an offering of something quite different and better through organization of a broad network of youth clubs, under the strict guidance of Youth Organization, as the most direct and fierce competition to private dumps. (Kustić 1982: 3)

Kustić's argument is that youth clubs ought to run on the principle of youth self-organization and self-management, which would prevent inappropriate and destructive behavior while offering attractive and varied forms of entertainment cheaply and affordably. According to Kustić, youth itself knows best what it wants and how it wants to entertain itself, and any form of private tutelage takes away from its ability to take care of its entertainment needs in a manner most in tune with its own socio-cultural sensibilities. An additional benefit of youth organizing and running its own music and dance clubs would be the participation by youth in its own culture through keeping the clubs financially viable and providing a broad-appeal quality entertainment at an affordable price. This would, in Kustić's view, make youth clubs not only the places of egalitarian and constructive forms of entertainment, but also, in a larger societal sense, the proving ground of youth's socialist self-management — organizational, managerial, and fiscal.

According to research focused on social profiling of Yugoslav youth, the principal socio-cultural trend underlying both the most prominent lifestyle differentiations within urban youth culture and the new social values espoused within youth's places of socialization was consumerism. In his research focusing on the consumerist aspect of urban youth culture, Mijović (1980a), observed that the display of Western cultural symbols (e.g. *Marlboro* cigarettes and *Levi's* jeans) was one of the dominant markers of urban youth identity and, at the same time, one of the crucial criteria for authenticating one's truly urban being. In his analysis, Mijović saw youth's embrace of consumer culture and mentality as antithetical to the fundamental principles of Yugoslav society and therefore something one ought to be critical of. Probing into the roots of this phenomenon, however, he pointed to certain forms of deviatory behavior within older generation as an 'emulatory behavioral mode(l)' for the young, and, as such, (in)directly responsible for youth's straying away from the proper Yugoslav course. As he commented: "responsible in part for the distortions in youth's system of value are the older, i.e. their parents, who guide their children by consciously or unconsciously projecting their own snobbism and provincialism onto the young" (Mijović 1980a: 6). In Mijović's estimation, however, 'the kids (save for the few misguided) are alright', and were drawn but temporarily to consumer(ist) fever; in time, and as society makes transparent the its falseness, this craze — as everything else contrary to Yugoslav socio-cultural essence — shall recede and come to pass. As he concluded (Mijović 1980a: 6), 'the tide is never high indefinitely'. The receding, however, will not occur naturally and spontaneously and will require a direct confrontation with society-wide consumerist *malaise*; for Mijović it was precisely the young that ought to play the crucial role in debunking this 'all-around accepted principle of everyday living'. And why? As he put it, "for the very simple reason — if youth has been contaminated with the consumerist relationship to the world, it is not yet steeped in it" (1981b: 8). Therefore, youth could conceivably point to the way out of it.

New Urban Youth: Subcultural Aspect

In addition to aiming to grasp the social dimension of Yugoslav youth, the 'new youth' research also focused on the subcultural aspect(s) of youth's cultural presence and expression (with)in society, and on the first significant subcultural differentiations within the urban youth population[26]. Before the full affirmation of rock'n'roll and the rise of new youth culture, the main criterion of (sub-)cultural distinction was a dichotomy between 'normal youth' and long-haired 'hashishers' (*hašišari*): while the former consisted of proper, short-haired and tamed youth population who listened to good music and led normal life, the latter was populated by the individuals who followed, musically and intellectually, new youth-culture trends and who expressed their non-conventionality through experimentations with music, lifestyle, and philosophy of life[27]. In other words, the latter were just plain odd and at odds with what was understood as and taken for Yugoslav (youth-)cultural mainstream. Beginning in the mid-1970's, however, the country's popular-cultural scene witnessed the blooming and proliferation of urban sub-cultural differentiations, bringing about a need for fresh insights into their source(s), nature, and most important aspects/dimensions (for sample-analysis of sub-cultural distinctions in relation to rock-music, see Košutić 1983).

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[26] For all practical purposes, Slovenian punks were the first true and easily identifiable incarnation of subculture within Yugoslav cultural spectrum. They were the sub-cultural thesis, or the affirmation of youth's intellectual and stylistic difference from the country's cultural mainstream. That thesis, however, produced its dialectical opposite, or antithesis, in the form of dandies (*šminkeri*), the sub-cultural expression of the more affluent and 'care-free' segment of Yugoslav youth. If, at the substantive level of cultural expression, the essence of punks was 'to be for and about something, *and* against something', the dandies' credo was 'for and about nothing, *and* against nothing' — nothing substantive, that is. If punks' sub-cultural essence revolved around their unique 'style of substance', dandies' was centered on 'substance of style'. Thus, within Yugoslav popular cultural discourse, the label dandy was (and still is) used to "denote those who pay excessive attention to their and others' outer appearance and material status" (Andrić in Marić 1987c: 44). Implicated in this definition is 'escape from reality' expressed through hedonist lifestyle and disinterest in anything of consequence (unless consequences, of course, had to do, with 'material and stylistic matters'). Thus, the punks' attitude of 'confrontation with reality' found its antithetical expression in dandies' credo of 'escape from reality' (for detailed analysis of dandies, see Marić 1987c).

With respect to the general source(s) of youth subcultures in Yugoslavia, the research revealed that their primary causal force was located abroad and, therefore, rooted in the already developed and defined principles and practices. However, they had not been transplanted by way of 'uncritical appropriation' but were, rather, translated and adapted to circumstances and cultural practices at work within a local social *milieu*. As observed by Košutić:

> It appears that multi-crop seeds have been blown in from all different sides. The plant had sprung, but in some highly hybrid manner. It had kept the outward appearance of the original but developed its essence from our soil. It looks like, once this plant sows its own seeds on our own soil, there will be very little — if anything — left of the original characteristics. (Košutić 1983: 41)

Thus one of the central common denominators of Yugoslav subcultural spectrum was hybridity — or hybridized essence — of its different forms and expressions. According to Košutić, this hybridity was the ultimate source of their vitality and longevity.

On a broader socio-political plane, the research revealed that Yugoslav youth subcultures were a radicalized reflection of the principal developmental course(s) of Yugoslav society itself. According to Anđelković (1983: 123):

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[27] Regarding the 'hashish generation', Ivan Glišić observes:

> Our rebellion was to grow the hair over our ears and listen to records. In general, music of the day was revolutionary, Mexican, and San Remo [highly popular Italian pop-music festival]. Our music, however, was progressive and unusual. The progressiveness was manifested in the messages: make love, not war; Americans out of Vietnam. But when it came demonstrating the results, we failed. For the solution was not drugs, or nirvana, or karma, but a healthy mind. And or music leaders — *The Beatles* — who were also our intellectual leaders, gave us no solutions. (Glišić in Todorović 1988c: 33)

> Despite some oscillatory and trendy tendencies, Yugoslav subcultures project themselves as deeply Yugoslav: authentically, and in line with a broader social and ideational framework, they are formulating and developing their own existential, aesthetic and political notions, and are, within their own social, ideational and political milieu, searching for answers.

Put differently, the nature of Yugoslav subcultures was anchored in the local which constituted their formational, existential, and explanatory-comprehensional soci(et)al horizon. Thus, any critique of them as being antithetical and oppositional to the fundamentals of Yugoslav society was, in Anđelković's estimation, a misguided misapprehension of the very Yugoslav substance of the local 'subcultural formations'. As he put it:

> Attacks on subcultures, although missing the latter's social and ideational essence, nonetheless register a state of societal panic. On a psychological plane, they are possible to understand as a "showdown" with one's own bad conscience. (Anđelković 1983: 117)

For Anđelković, getting a handle on the essence of different forms of youth's subcultural expressions required an understanding that

> main and important subcultures articulate, in a specific manner, the problems of *youth identity*. At the same time, all subcultures are specific, deeply *coded social discourse* about youth's place and role in society. But their social function is not exhausted in this: parallelly with an emphasis on the significance of differences (in relation to others […]), subcultures are also a strong articulation of the striving for change. (Anđelković 1983: 118, original emphasis)

Thus, coming to terms with the meaning and nature of subculture and subcultural aspect(s) of youth's cultural presence and expression (with)in Yugoslav society was a matter of appreciating three dimensions central to any subcultural form: existential-psychological, existential-political, and existential-social. The first one has to do with the issue(s) of identity; the second one with the issues of social reproduction, development and change; and the third one points to particular subcultural links to the social other(s) and the overall societal *milieu*.

According to Anđelković, one of the main aspects of existential-psychological dimension common to all main Yugoslav subcultures was their rootedness in a middle-class social and spiritual *milieu*, which gave them not only a particular normative outlook but also animated their existential-political essence by informing the nature and course of their socio-cultural *praxis*. As he observed, at the existential-psychological plane Yugoslav subcultural forms "reflect[ed] a deeper moral-psychological drama of a middle-class culture[,] express[ing] all uncertainties of its social standing[,] affirm[ing] the values of their own parent culture[, and] defend[ing] their own position from the competing groups" (Anđelković 1983: 119). This, in turn, translated into a particular kind of existential-political engagement which rested on the "feeling of moral need to defend the politics that facilitated development of [middle-class] strata, while defending their own status". In Anđelković's view, the end-result of this coupling of the existential-psychological and existential-political dimensions of Yugoslav subcultures was the *praxis* of defense of the middle-class social position and the political resistance to any form of political critique thereof.

On the existential-social plane, the centrality of the urban appeared to be crucial to all subcultural groups who developed their own and unique sense of 'freedom and spontaneity' within the urban as an antipode to the constraints of hyper-organization and hyper-rationalization of the general society:

> the theme of the city … within the framework of Yugoslav subcultures is something radically new. That is, the city now becomes an obsession and the final point of social existence, with the rules presumed and affirmed by the subcultures themselves becoming the basis for a new ideology (or mystification) of the city. (Anđelković 1983: 122)

As Anđelković's research reveals, the centrality of the city had significant existential-psychological ramifications for it was one of the crucial symbolic markers distinguishing the truly urban from pseudo-urban subcultures (such as the ones formed around the New Country music) and establishing symbolic criteria for preserving the true urbanness from the altering effects of the pseudo-urban subcultural assaults. As such, prioritization of the urban was at the same time a marker of unity and difference and, implicitly, an expression of a contradictory and confrontational developmental dynamic of and within the urban itself (i.e. an opposition to non-middle-class (sub)cultures and, also, competing middle-class subcultures sharing the same social time/space). Thus, the mythology of the city that developed around a variety of youth subcultures could, in Anđelković's view, be read as a source and demarcation of a particular form of identity, and a defense mechanism against the marginal and pseudo- or non-urban subcultural elements within the urban itself.

New Urban Youth: Political-Ideological Aspect

The third stream of 'new youth' research aimed at assessing the impact and consequences of social and cultural manifestations of new popular-cultural dynamics on the nature of youth's attitudes towards the foundational ideological values and political practices/processes of Yugoslav socialist community. Its central objective, thus, was gauging the degree to which the new rock'n'roll generation was on the right ideological/political course, and addressing — to the extent that they were present — the problems of ideological/political aberrations. Habul's research on ideological orientation of Yugoslav youth revealed that by and large the young were accepting of the fundamental principles of Yugoslav socialist community but that, however, there was a problem with their meaningful participation in the system: on one hand, youth felt left out from the decision-making processes and was ambivalent towards the Youth Organization as its official institutional body[28]; on the other, youth was very perceptive of and sensitive to imperfections in the system and was especially critical of those that resulted anomalous practices. According to Habul, taken together the two provided possible openings for youth's anti-socialist sentiments and — potentially — actions, and the challenge was therefore to come up with an institutional-organizational mechanism for overcoming youth's sense of disconnect and marginality in being full-fledged members of Yugoslav socialist community. As he put it:

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[28] Founded in 1974, SSOJ, or the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, was designed to be a "mass socio-political and educational organization for the youth which, as part of its membership, includes collective subjects (literary youth, music youth ..., etc.)" (Palalić in Popović, Vučković and Vicanović 1977: 4). The formation of SSOJ corresponds more or less to the period of the emergence and affirmation of youth subcultures on the Yugoslav mainstream-cultural scene. In this sense, it could be argued that SSOJ was setup as an official institutional-organization structure with an aim of 'organizing' (i.e. controlling) the new and unknown cultural practices and incorporating them within the already existing cultural purviews of the system and its operational logic. Thus, establishing an organization of such a format can be seen as the system's mechanism of control and management of the cultural unknown and — through socially-sanctioned institutional mechanisms — translating it into cultural categories familiar to, and therefore controllable by, the system. The notion of youth culture and cultural practices, in this context, seems to be suggestive of this since, from its very inception, SSOJ's formulation and definitional understandings of youth culture and associated practices was more or less a mirror image of officially sanctioned understanding of general culture and its parameters. Thus, youth culture in SSOJ's version was but a youthified version of Yugoslav mainstream culture, giving

> Youth is sensitive to all social changes. Therefore, if young people are not centrally involved with their institutional-organization body, they take up the position of a critic from the margins. We always ought to consider ideological shifts within a larger social context. Youth are aware of the difficult international situation and economic circumstances, and they follow all this with great interest. But they are also highly sensitive about irregularities in society and the unmerited privileges enjoyed by some, and, in particular, the irregularities regarding employment practices. (Habul 1981: 9)

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strong preference to more gentrified and refined forms of cultural expressions and practices, and — one could argue — aiming at socializing young Yugoslavs into the already existing cultural norms and 'codes' of cultural behavior. An important consequence of this was disconnect of a sort between the organization that is supposed to represent youth's interests and the youth's real interests and forms of cultural expression. Ultimately, SSOJ functioned more as a 'organization for (or in the name of) youth' rather than 'youth's organization':

> For years, there has been a gap between the practice and approach of SSOJ on the questions of culture and, not only the real interests and needs of youth, but also the organization's own programmatic choices. Productive encounter between the young creators (in all areas) and SSOJ has been more accidental (and sporadic) than a result of conscious action. For years there has been an unsustainable dualism between the real cultural needs and aims of the young and the archaic models of cultural activities offered by the SSOJ. Of course, this was a product of — and also produced — the consciousness about "the Western influence on our youth". It was only in the last years that the Youth Organization, and its leadership, has awoken to the awareness that everything representing specific means of independent and unique youth expressions (from the particular way of talking, dressing and communicating, to music) ought to have a true expression within the practices of the Union of Socialist Youth. (unsigned 1986a: 28)

The organization thus suffered from the same *malaise* as the society's official model of new socialist culture — namely, an insistence on remolding youth culture into familiar cultural parameters and practices. The clause from the practical-political program of the Croatian branch of the Union of Socialist Youth is more than suggestive in this regard: "The activity of SSOH ought to be turned towards the foundational questions of culture and its socialist transformation, towards abolishing the class understanding of culture-society-creator-consumer relations … and towards opening up the possibilities for unique creative expressions of each individual" (unsigned 1981g: 13). It takes no great leap of imagination to realize that this plan of action has very little — if anything — to do with the realities of youth culture and its expressions and practices, or with the reality of society's culture in general. The statement, such as it is, reads like a piece of political pamphleteering with no real utility, other than formal-bureaucratic.

In Habul's view, "a young tree is easily bent" and it was society's task to prevent the bending in a wrong way and to cultivate the proper growth; after all, "the people will be the way we raise them" (Habul 1981: 9).

Taking, indirectly, Habul's observations as a general point of departure for his own research, Mihajlović (1987) argued that the problem of youth in Yugoslav socialist community — that is, the potential of youth's undesirable ideological/political bending — was inversely proportional to an 'LP (i.e. 'labor/politics') factor' (*RP činilac*), or the degree to which youth as a generation was capable of realizing their unique needs through labor (i.e. work) and political activity in Yugoslav society. Thus, the fundamental problem of youth as a generational cohort was the problem of meaningful relationship between the possibilities of realizing subjective requirements of one's existence in society as youth and the objective and socially determined conditions of labor and politics as the principal venues for the full actualization of those possibilities. According to Mihajlović, in a situation of a high (or higher) degree of correspondence between the two, the 'problem of youth' diminished in both presence and intensity; when that was not the case, the problem augmented. As he observed:

> The inability — full or partial — of individuals to realize their needs in labor and politics through productive work engagement and political behavior pushes them to distance themselves from the spheres of labor and politics, and turn, in their free time, to their substitutes. There, amidst the substitutes, in the world of chimeras and illusions, no real landmarks exist. In that space and in *these*[29] times, the soul-hunting season is open. The question here is if any of the "hunters" has considerable advantage! (Mihajlović 1987: 15, emphasis added)

In a manner reminiscent of Durkheim, Mihajlović in effect argued that the problem of youth was the problem of youth's successful integration into society through the meaningful engagement in labor activity and political process. Since the these were the social cornerstones of subjective affirmation and realization of each and every individual in society, the society had to make them readily available to all and also make them personally gratifying and socially relevant aspects of each and everyone's individual being in the world. Failing this, there was a great risk of social anomie in the form of ideological aberrations and potentially pathological engagements with society's ideological underworlds which could only be detrimental to both individuals and Yugoslav social(ist) community at large. In practical terms, solving the problem of gainful employment and political disconnect was, in Mihajlović's view, the most productive means of staving off youth's ideological/political pathologies (on the problem of employment as it relates to youth, see also Stanković 1987c).

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[29] Mihajlović is writing in 1987, the time of already heightened nationalist spirits and increasingly exclusivist and mono-ethnic political discourses. Arguably, his dealing with the problem of youth is therefore colored by the perceived (and real) threat of the co-option of youth for nationalist causes antithetical to the multicultural spirit of Yugoslav socialist community.

To sum up, the socio-cultural profile of Yugoslav youth that emerged through investigative efforts of the 'new youth' research revealed that the new rock'n'roll generation was decidedly urban, overwhelmingly middle-class, and conspicuously subcultural. Its socio-cultural sensibilities were informed by cosmopolitan outlook and a sense of being connected constructively to global popular-cultural developments while, at the same time, maintaining its own socio-cultural uniqueness. Its ideological/political purviews were bound by overwhelmingly middle-class background and qualified adherence to the core values of Yugoslav social(ist) community, which inevitably figured in the nature of socio-political (dis)engagement adopted. As we shall see in the following chapters, all of these, to a significant extent, defined the bearers of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans*.

The Discovery of Rock'n'Roll: The Substance of Rock-Effect

In addition to the discovery of youth as the real-existing social agency in Yugoslav society, the mid-1970's was a time of another great discovery for the country's cultural-political officialdom — rock'n'roll. Of course, rock-music as such was a legitimate aspect of Yugoslav cultural palette since the late-1950's/early-1960's but it did not figure — at least not in the eyes of society proper — as something too important and therefore as something one should overly concern oneself with or pay too much attention to. Before the mid-1970's the official stance on rock'n'roll was that it was an adolescent entertainment for dreamy teenagers and something relegated to fun-times of weekend dance parties — that is, something of fleeting and not-too-consequential importance. Rock'n'roll, the reasoning went, was simply something one dances to and was entertained by; that was pretty much all that there was too it. The mid-to-late 1970's substantive turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll (to be explored in detail in Chapter 4) and the increasing evidence that, as far as Yugoslav youth was concerned, rock-music was much more than a simple and mindless form of weekend-entertainment, made it, however, obvious that the official understanding of rock-phenomenon was lacking and that there was a need for the official society to pay a much closer attention to it and give it much more serious a regard. Hence the discovery of rock'n'roll as an important socio-cultural force in Yugoslav society and as the popular-cultural medium that figured crucially in, and had a crucial impact on, the lives of (at least a certain profile of) Yugoslav youth.

One of the important reasons for the sudden discovery of rock-music — or, perhaps more adequately, rock-culture — by Yugoslav cultural-political officialdom was its overwhelming absence from the society's mainstream cultural channels and venues. Until mid-1970's rock'n'roll, although present, was a fairly marginal phenomenon in society[30], relegated to the pages of off-mainstream youth press and

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[30] The marginality of rock'n'roll, in sociological terms, is captured quite perceptively by Vlatko Fras:

> The proof that our rock is far from its true cultural function is the fact that one identifies much more easily with the foreign rather than domestic rock. With the exception of *Bijelo dugme* all of our rock music cannot be taken as something to dance to or create a mood with, let alone as a form to identify with. It would be utterly unreasonable to expect from such an irrelevant rock'n'roll some form of social critique or socialist flavoring.
> [...]
> Lack of young generation's authentic sensibility in domestic rock appears to be the main obstacle for a broader affirmation of rock music and, perhaps even more importantly, raises the question of justification of our rock in the form we have it today. If rock cannot articulate the sensibility of Yugoslav kids, what is its purpose in the first place and is there a sense at all in calling it rock. (Fras 1978h: 24)

Importantly, Fras makes his observation in 1978, at the eve of *New Wave*'s rise. He speculates that it is precisely *New Wave* that can potentially offer the first local and authentic articulation of the sentiments of Yugoslav youth (or, to be precise, an urban segment thereof) and thus legitimate itself as the first truly relevant pop-cultural expression and practice. Reflecting on the state of domestic rock'n'roll some three years later Glavan would write:

> Domestic rock, even that famous "new wave", are no longer and in no way some

the waves of local radio-stations with fairly limited reach (sometimes not even covering an entire city area). As far as the main radio-stations and serious mainstream press were concerned, rock'n'roll simply did not register and might have as well not existed at all. Television was somewhat more receptive to Yugoslav rockers but even there their courting was sporadic and, as Vukojević puts it, 'charitable'. The ultimate consequence of all of this was that "entire rock'n'roll developed outside the elementary instruments of mass-media" (Vukojević 1979b: 42). When in the mid-to-late 1970's, due to the persistent and conspicuous presence of rock-music in the Yugoslav cultural sphere, the mainstream media finally gave consideration and started paying attention to the new phenomenon, the treatment of rock'n'roll was, on one hand, fairly polemical and occasionally confrontational, and, on the other, overwhelmingly devoid of true understanding and appreciation. As a rule, serious journalists and cultural critics had no idea how or what to think about rock-music, or how to evaluate it constructively and purposefully. Inevitably, in the absence of true cognitive insight and appropriate normative criteria for critical appraisal, the media resorted to the known and familiar criteria of mainstream cultural aesthetics; the result was trashing of rock'n'roll as a low(er) cultural form and expression, and, in extreme cases, as cultural refuse (see, for example, Lisinski 1983b).

The discovery of rock'n'roll by Yugoslav official society thus manifested itself on two distinct but interrelated planes: societal-cultural and cultural-aesthetic. The first one attempted to come to terms with rock-music in relation to Yugoslav youth and to assess its overall nature, impact and implications as an apparently significant popular-cultural force in society. The second centered on assessing the aesthetic merits of rock-music and evaluating its overall influence on cultural sensibilities of Yugoslav youth in particular and on the nature of Yugoslav cultural fabric in general. In the context of societal-cultural dimension, the discovery of rock'n'roll had three specific venues of exploration: (1) the nature of rock'n'roll and its position in society;

> exclusive and isolated phenomena of big urban settings; youth all over the country has accepted domestic rock'n'roll as its natural means of expression and excellent basis for befriending and getting closer to each other. (Glavan 1981c: 10)

Fras' speculations about the potential of *New Wave* have, it would appear, proven correct.

(2) the nature of rock-idolatry and the cultural role of rock-musicians in society; and (3) the nature of rock'n'roll messages. The cultural-aesthetic dimension meanwhile was animated by the larger societal exploration of cultural profanization and the impact of cultural kitsch on society. There rock-music was considered in light of the following key questions: (1) is rock'n'roll true culture with genuine cultural value?; (2) what are the aesthetic merits of rock-music?; and (3) is rock'n'roll a cultural-aesthetic pollutant of Yugoslav youth? These two dimensions of the official debate(s) that followed often overlapped and informed one another to a significant degree. After all, both employed the same principles of new socialist culture as a normative lens for evaluating the new rock-phenomenon and both relied on socialist-humanist understanding of culture as a means of gauging rock'n'roll's place, role, and purpose (with)in Yugoslav socialist community. As well, their exploratory point of convergence was the issue of (the need for) cultural management of rock-music — that is, the matter of censorship.

The Rock-Effect: Societal-Cultural Dimension

The societal-cultural exploration of rock'n'roll by the cultural-political officialdom was in large part a reflection of the new attitude in the Yugoslav rock-music itself. Seemingly all of a sudden, rock'n'roll became a music of substance with the aim of engaging with society and reflecting on its nature from the viewpoint of a particular socio-cultural agency and its position and location within a larger societal universe. Rock-music, in other words, projected itself to the official society as the youth's medium of choice for speaking its mind and gaining a voice of its own. This was a fundamentally new development that took the country's political leadership and cultural authorities by great surprise, especially because the message communicated appeared to be espousing an attitude of ambivalence towards the society and (some of) its values. Needless to say, this was found to be highly problematic and it set off the official socio-cultural alarms big time.

A case in point, and the very first instance of public problematization of rock-music, is the first 'real' Yugoslav rock-band *Bijelo dugme* (*White Button*) and its album "Eto! Baš hoću!" ("There! I Really Want To!") with the song by the same title:

Uvijek sam bio pametno dijete	I was always a sensible kid
tako kažu	so they say
prao zubiće, prije ručka rukice	brushing my teeth, washing my hands before the lunch
za mamine goste učio pjesmice	learning ditties for my mom's guests
I, šta...	And, what for ...?

Uvijek sam bio pametan momak	I was always a sensible young man
i još sam uvijek	And I still am
pametno početi, fakultet odabrati	starting out sensibly, sensibly choosing the university
pametno se ženiti, pametno stariti	marrying sensibly, getting old sensibly
I, šta...	And, what for ...?

Pusti, pusti, o pusti me	Let me, let me, oh why don't you let me
hoću bar jednom	I want for once
Eto! Baš hoću!	There! I really want!
da budem blesav	to be foolish
i vala neka ću!	and so what if I want to!

The immediate questions asked by the socio-political establishment in relation to the song and, especially, the line 'There! I really want to be foolish!' were 'why foolish?', and 'what was it in the society that drives youth to foolishness?'. As odd as this may appear, the song's seemingly rebellious attitude became a subject of weighty public contemplation, carried out partly in the more serious popular press and partly in the official public political (i.e. Marxist) forums. Taking the attitude of by far the most popular Yugoslav rock-band as suggestive of the attitude of the new generation of youth, the debates that followed were centered on grasping the nature and position of the new rock-music within the cultural mainstream, and assessing the rebellious spirit of the new popular culture in terms of its intent and potential impact on society.[31] One of the forums, as reported on by Tomić (1978), concluded that the mainstream culture, as a form of social training, was effectively traditionalist in nature since it aimed at socially reproducing what was already there (for detailed overview of socio-cultural and institutional practices that should be socially reproduced, see Gamser 1979). As such, it encouraged social conformity as the dominant mode of individual and social being, rewarding those who obeyed and pathologizing those who did not. As one of the panelists commented:

> we call those who fit within the system of the traditional good and smart. Being smart, therefore, is often equated with being

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[31] This itself is a reflection of official society's uncertainty about how to deal with something that appears outside of its established assumption: the known is a source of comfort because it can be managed; the unknown introduces the problem of unmanageability and, therefore, the potential danger to society proper.

> adjustable. But to be completely adjusted means completely losing oneself, losing all individuality. Conformism destroys creativity because it is the individualism of automatons. (in Tomić 1978: 11)

Thus, youth's cry to be foolish, articulated in *Bijelo dugme*'s song, was, in essence, a 'no' to the system of social conditioning and to the dehumanization of individual under the dictate of the demands of a socio-cultural system: "youths are attacking the values of cooled-off world, the world marred by the crisis in communication and understanding" (unnamed panelist in Tomić 1978). The call for 'foolishness' was therefore a call for the preservation of the individual self, against the assault of traditionalist forces of cultural reproduction. As such, the desire to be foolish could "in a way be understood as a striving of a young individual to be smart in a new way, often considered as senseless within traditionalist framework" (unnamed panelist in Tomić 1978: 11). According to the panel, it was important to understand that this by no means implied that young people wished to tear down the existing but that, on the contrary, they desired to add to it and expand it. Therefore, the nature of youth's rebellion and rebellious attitude suggested in the *Bijelo dugme*'s song was fundamentally constructive rather than destructive, for it aimed at broadening and extending the boundaries of socio-cultural expressions and pushing forward the bounds of acceptability, giving them 'new radiance'. The conclusion reached by the panel was that the new youth culture and rock-music were, at bottom, socio-cultural innovations reflective of new generational sensibilities and intents. As such, they were the necessary ingredients in any society that wanted to grow and move forward progressively, and, therefore, they ought to be embraced rather than taken as ideologically dangerous and thus undesirable. In the end, all the public musings on *Bijelo dugme*'s 'there!-I-want-to!' attitude concluded that there was no danger in Yugoslav rock'n'roll, in new youth culture, and in the call to 'be foolish, if only for once'; all of these, in the end, constructively affirmed, rather than destructively undermined, the foundational suppositions of Yugoslav socialist community.

In a larger socio-cultural context, the public debate on *Bijelo dugme* was an unequivocal indication that rock-music became part of the official socio-political *conscience collectif*, or, to put it differently, that its presence within the socio-cultural mainstream was forceful enough that it simply could not be ignored by the society proper[32]. In addition, it was also an indication that the country's political leadership and cultural authorities took rock-music seriously and considered it not only in terms of its new spirit of rebelliousness but also — and more importantly — in terms of the potential impact that the new position(ing) of rock-music within Yugoslav society can have on the overall socio-cultural, and political, fabric of society at large. These became the driving force behind much, if not all, of the debates on rock-music and youth in the course of the late-1970's/early-1980's.

The common point of departure for all public reflections on rock-music that followed the debate on *Bijelo dugme* was a recognition that rock'n'roll was not only music, or a form of entertainment, but also a cultural form implicated in youth's identity-formation and, as such, a popular-cultural force of potentially significant impact and consequence for society. The eventually reached understanding was that the youth/rock'n'roll relationship, as it reflects on the development of both individual and collective identity, was centered on creation of a sense of authenticity in the form of rebellion against the norms of the mainstream society. Given the essential humanism of Yugoslav socialist community, however, the rebellion fostered through rock'n'roll could only be taken as an abstraction, as more a matter of pose than substance — as a 'rebellion without a cause'. As understood by the cultural-political officialdom, rock'n'roll in Yugoslav socialist community *could* — as a form of rebellion — be identifiably meaningful only through its relationship to the fundamental socialist relations and values, i.e. as a form of a 'constructive critique of the existing', crucially implicated in "stimulating certain, from the value- and social-viewpoint, positive processes" (in Grbin and Batinović 1978: 28). Only this sort of position(ing) would make rock-music a 'rebellion with a cause' — that is,

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[32] The statement made by Azem Vlasi, the president of SSOJ, reveals the crux of official socio-political *conscience collectif*:

> I would say that pop music is not a phenomenon we as society should worry or be concerned about. This is a normal thing, perhaps even a fad, today. I don't believe that in a few years the appeal of pop music will be as strong as it is today. Besides, you know that at different points in time we had all sorts of things we were wondering about as we are wondering about the music today. In time this phenomenon will disappear the same way the long-hair and jeans fashion-trends etc. are gradually receding. (Vlasi in unsigned 1978j: 5)

The statement is significant in two respects: on the one hand, as a recognition of the matter-of-factness of rock-music in Yugoslav society; and, on the other, as an estimation of its transient and temporary nature. Both are indicative of the fact that in the mid-to-late 1970's, although definitely present, rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia was a novel popular-cultural force and, in many crucial respects, the great unknown in need of proper understanding. Hence, the emergence of a variety of debates, panels and forums on rock'n'roll and its nature and place in Yugoslav society.

> the rebellion that … contributes to the development and prosperity of this county, to creative conquering of new vistas in strengthening self-management, to self-management consciousness and … to doing away with everything contrary to these, everything standing in their way. (Račan in Grbin and Batinović 1978: 28)

Thus as long as Yugoslav rock'n'roll fostered the form of youth identity that stimulated and channeled the 'rebellion with a cause' and understood the latter as, essentially, a constructive contribution to the development of the Yugoslav socialist community, all was fine. The cause for concern would be rock'n'roll expression that fostered 'rebellion without a cause' as the basis for youth's self-understanding and encouraged destructive attitude towards the society at large. In the estimation of the country's cultural-political officialdom, rock-music in Yugoslavia — and, therefore, youth culture in general — was overwhelmingly of the former rather than latter disposition. 'The kids', in other words, 'were alright'.

In addition to problematizing the nature of rock-music's position and place in society and, in a sense, the nature of rock'n'roll message itself, the final societal-cultural aspect of the official discovery of rock'n'roll was the issue of rock-idolatry as a new popular-cultural phenomenon in Yugoslavia, and more broadly, the socio-cultural role of rock-musicians as popular-cultural idols. Given the understanding of rock-music as a substantively potent popular-cultural force, the official attitude was that rock-musicians were not only musicians but also public figures who, by the very nature of their public engagement in society, had a considerable impact on their following, i.e. youth. As such, they had the power, or potency, to educate or stupefy their audience and, thus, the potential for either a 'constructive' or 'destructive' impact in society. In turn, the power the rock-musicians had carried with it the responsibility not to abuse their idol-status. Thus, in his commentary on the leader of *Bijelo dugme*, Goran Bregović — the first true Yugoslav Idol — Mijović's wrote the following:

> Bregović speaks to his audience not only as a musician, but on a much deeper and broader plane. He, unconsciously but perhaps

> also somewhat intentionally, communicates his opinions about life, projects his visions and ideas. That world of his, in view of what he says, is completely different from the world of kids he communicates with and who idolize him. Evidently, they 'copy' and imitate him and project his opinion as their own, although without any basis for or conscience about it. An opinion is being pushed on them; it is being pushed by an idol. And can he now hide behind the cover of non-responsibility? (Mijović 1979b: 5)

In Mijović's view, two general issues concerning rock-musicians' cultural position as rock-idols were crucially important: the question of responsibility, and the question of competence. Regarding the first, Mijović's opinion was that responsibility and, in the end, accountability ought to be the foundation of a relationship rock-star as an idol has with his audience, and that, moreover, the rock-star's public engagement with society and his audience ought to be based on a clear and unequivocal recognition and acknowledgement of these by the rock-star himself. Regarding the second, Mijović was somewhat suspicious of rock-stars' competency at being the conveyers of great life-truths and the leaders of those who occupied fundamentally different and 'inferior' social position in society. In fact, he argued that there ought to be proper social and cultural mechanisms for curbing musicians' privileged position as truth-conveyers and relegating their being in the world to the realm of music and musicianship. As he put it (1979b: 5), "musicians should be in charge of guitars, and footballers in charge of football". Mijović, however, was advocating not an all-out censorship and castration of musicians' rights to participate and be part of society's public socio-cultural space and discourse, but only some sort of socio-cultural mechanism(s) for filtering the private and the public, the personal and the general-social. Crucial in this, of course, was the question of the nature of these mechanisms and the question of 'who, by what right and authority, and in whose interest would do the filtering?' Surprisingly enough, Mijović did not have much to say on these. His opinions, however, captured the core of the official attitude on rock-idolatry and the socio-cultural role of rock-musicians as popular-cultural idols.

Thus, the overall (pro)position that emerged out of the societal-cultural discovery of rock'n'roll was that rock-music was indeed significant and potentially societally-consequential popular-cultural force, and that, as such, it ought to be subject of general societal scrutiny. Expressing the matter not too delicately, Vlahović (1979d: 8) observed that "records are a source of profit, but also a source of ideological influence". In this context, the key question and problem became the issue of normative evaluations of music-records as cultural forms and the foundational criteria for these evaluations. For Vlahović, as one of the key people in Yugoslav political leadership, the matter was fairly straightforward:

> Youth today is being offered all sorts of ideas. The League of Communists ought to be a laboratory of a sort for making selection from those ideas and relations, and doing it in a manner appealing to youth. (Vlahović 1979d: 9)

On the issue of selection criteria, however, Vlahović was not so assured and in fact had very little, if anything, to say.

The Rock-Effect: Cultural-Aesthetic Dimension

In addition to societal-cultural consideration of the rock-phenomenon, Yugoslav cultural-political authorities were also struggling to come to terms with cultural-aesthetic merits of this new popular-cultural form. As already observed, the cultural-aesthetic 'discovery' of rock'n'roll was part of a larger societal debate on the changing nature (i.e. profanization) of Yugoslav mainstream culture due to the ever-growing impact of the market principles of profitability and economic gain, and increasing commercialization and 'estradization'[33] of cultural forms and expressions.[34] The dominant sentiment of eminent cultural authorities of the country was that the most problematic consequence of this in many respects radical cultural change was debasing of cultural values and standards and an increase in culturally valueless forms of artistic expression. The general consensus was that the advent of cultural trash, as these demeaning cultural expressions were labeled, demanded a swift cultural interventionism that would — by firstly identifying the nature of cultural pollutants and thereafter establishing appropriate institutional mechanisms for their sanitization — actively resist the societal cancer of cultural profanation (on the source of trash in Yugoslav culture, see Lukić 1985; on relationship between consumerist culture and trash and its implication for music, see Vušković 1982).

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[33] 'Estradization' is derived from the word 'estrada' which in its original Russian usage refers to "Soviet populár or light entertainment, known to audiences in Moscow, Leningrad, and beyond as the 'small stage' or *éstrada*, a wide-ranging term that includes pop music but also applies to modern dance, comedy, circus arts, and any other performance not on the 'big', classical stage" (MacFadyen 2002: 3). In the context of Yugoslav socio-cultural discourse, 'estrada' refers to any form of commercially-driven light entertainment devoid of true cultural value and oriented primarily towards cheap, inconsequential amusement. Thus, both 'estrada' and its derivative 'estradization' are loaded terms, used pejoratively and with negative normative connotations. As defined by Dragan Kremer, estradization is the process of '"catering to mass-audience and mass-media (with) simultaneous polishing of the form and emptying of the content" (Kremer 1988: 35) — in simple terms, dumbing down of cultural expression for the purpose of wide commercial appeal. Fundamentally, the problem with estradization of culture is de-authentication of genuine cultural expression by robbing it of its artistic essence through the process of appealing to the lowest common denominator and, thus, rendering it void of any substance. Given its debasing nature, estradization of culture is considered as profoundly antithetical to the values and normativity of genuine socialist-humanist cultural practice and experience.

The first line of defense in the strategy of cultural interventionism was to clarify the notion of cultural trash (or kitsch) and establish criteria for designating a particular form of cultural expression as such. Hence the question: 'What is cultural trash and how to spot it?' According to Prof. Miloš Ilić:

> One of the most consequential and most essential "aesthetic scars" immanent to kitsch is the opposition to any sort of effort, especially cognitive. … Kitsch wishes to suggest that it is without ambiguities — spiritual, cognitive and reflexive ones in particular. That makes it appealing in the eyes of those who are cognitively inert and do not wish to 'decipher puzzles' while experiencing a work of art, and who wish for all they have to be everything one can have. (Ilić in Trbojević 1979: 19)

Thus what made something kitsch was the effect it generated (or failed to generate): if the end-effect of being exposed to a cultural form was spiritual laziness that dulls rather than stimulates then that particular form of cultural expression was cultural trash. Kitsch, as profanization of culture in concrete, therefore manifested itself as a negation of the true cultural expression — that is, truly socialist-humanist form of culture. The latter encouraged spiritual and intellectual vigor and stimulated cognitive alertness, aiming to engage the individual with the totality of not only cultural but also general societal surrounding and, in doing so, affirm the wholeness of one's cultural and social being. Therefore kitch was not only undesirable for, but also fundamentally antithetical to, the cultural purviews of Yugoslav socialist community.

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[34] This, in a sense, Westernization of Yugoslav culture was to a significant degree result of decentralization of socio-political process, introduced through the regime-strategies of *pluralist socialism* and, to some degree, *pragmatic consolidation*.

As to the source of cultural trash, the 1971 edition of General Encyclopedia put the matter in the following way:

> In a broader sense, trash is part of literature in general, but it is in fact a twisted, degenerate aspect thereof. … From a sociological and psychological viewpoint, trash expresses the same crises as pornography, advertising and sensationalism in general, all of which increasingly penetrate the means of mass communication (print, film, television). Its basic aim is profitability at all costs. (in Karabatković 1976: 15)

The ultimate source of cultural trash, thus, was commercialization and commodification of cultural forms and expressions which, in negating all that is culturally valuable and enriching, seek to establish the lowest cognitive denominator as the preferred, and only, cultural standard. This itself was a manifestation of the larger cultural logic of profit which, in constantly seeking the new means of accumulation, instrumentalizes, manipulates, and debases. From this point of view, resisting cultural pollution was a matter of actively challenging the cultural logic that generates it.

As far as the realities of Yugoslav cultural scene were concerned, the phenomenon that, in the eyes of the cultural authorities, embodied the essence of cultural trash and, in many crucial respects, figured as profanization of Yugoslav culture *par excellence* was the new and disturbing trend of New Country music (*novokomponovana narodna muzika*). As Pavlović writes:

> Researchers claim that trash is present in all spheres of life. Trash is, in a manner of speaking, a view of the world that doesn't leave politics, literature, and music immune to it. … However, all agree that music trash is the most detrimental, especially the one emanating from the New Country songs. (Pavlović 1978: 17)

According to the official stance, the principal problem with New Country was its debasing and manipulative nature which, on the one hand, subverts the values and affirmative impulses of genuine folk culture with the 'negative utopia' of crass-materialist 'Balkan dream', and, on the other, commodifies the genuine expressions and experiences of traditional folklore as the mass-cultural 'surrogates for peasant life' (Fras 1978d: 18). Its ultimate effect, according to Labudović (1984: 32) was, 'pornography of the soul' which valorizes provincialism as the highest form of socio-cultural being in the world and celebrates lethargy, passivity, absence of creativity, and mental stereotypy as 'gnosticism of the highest order' (Vitošević 1984: 23). Or as Kovačević (1988: 38-9) puts it:

> with 'new country music' as a phenomenon of 'mass culture' there is a spread of certain values which are, from the viewpoint of human emancipation, humanism and authentic human needs, manipulative and dehumanizing in nature. The values of 'new country music' are becoming an ideology of a sort that has certain cultural and political meanings. ... The[se] values[, however,] are directly opposed to the values of the society of socialist self-management. The society of socialist self-management needs the values that affirm human and social emancipation and not the values that endanger human freedom, autonomy, and cultural and political self-consciousness. Precisely for all these reasons one has to say that a cultural revolution that would transcend the manipulative values of 'new country music' as the values of the so-called 'mass culture' still awaits our society.

In the eyes of Yugoslav cultural authorities, therefore, New Country was — because of its mass-appeal and overwhelming manipulative impact — by far the greatest cultural pollutant which exercised not only a formidable influence on population's socio-cultural sensibilities but also a subversively dangerous impact on the overall cultural fabric of Yugoslav socialist community. The general consensus, therefore, was that dealing with the cultural trash of New Country required a form of cultural interventionism which would seek to establish a sanitizing regulatory mechanism through monitoring the source-point of New Country's music output — the recording industry[35].

Enter 'trash committees'[36].

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[35] As Pavlović (1978) demonstrates, the recording industry was by far the biggest culture industry in Yugoslavia, producing and selling most cultural commodities in the country (according to Pavlović, sales in the 1970-1978 period totaled 75 million units, with 44 million of these being country music recordings). Four out of six republics had recording companies and production facilities, and therefore ought to have a committee for evaluation and assessment of their output. The need for this was greatest in Serbia, the biggest producer of music recordings and, along with Bosnia and Herzegovina, its greatest consumer.

[36] The full official name of the committee for Croatia amounts to the untranslatable run-on

As Pavlović (1978: 17) writes:

> No matter how unpopular, and against some of fundamental principles of socialist self-management, one can observe the formation of committees and working groups whose principle task is to protect not only a three year-old, but the older as well, from music trash put on a record. A phonographic needle can bear it all; an ear cannot.

The working logic of the committees, consisting of five members (a composer, a poet, and three public and cultural workers) and figuring as an advisory body for a provincial secretary of culture (*republički ministar za kulturu*), was as follows: they would have regular meetings (originally once a month; subsequently increased to twice a week[37]) where they would listen to current, yet unreleased, recordings and offer their evaluation in terms of the quality of music, lyrics, cover, and cover text[38]. If they found the product of satisfactory artistic/cultural quality they would recommend it for an exemption from surplus tax; if the product was found to not satisfy elementary artistic/cultural criteria, a 43% tax would be added to its final sale price. The rationale behind the 'trash tax', as the surplus tax was popularly known, was fairly straightforward: higher price tag of 'kitsch music' would discourage sales; lower sales, in turn, would translate into less people being exposed to cultural trash, which would decrease its impact on cultural sensibilities of individual consumers and, by extension, the cultural well-being of society at large.

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designation, 'Komisija Republičkog sekretarijata za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu Hrvatske za oporezivanje proizvoda i usluga'.

[37] According to Pavlović (Pavlović 1978: 17), the 1977 annual balance for Serbia's trash committee was as follows: 24 meetings; 700 records evaluated; 253 recommended for 'trash tax'.

[38] Obviously, the key question here is the following: can an opinion of five experts be taken as an embodiment of society's evaluation of the current (forms of) popular culture, and, if so, what are the criteria used for making those evaluations? The latter part of the question is crucial here, both in its own right and because it stands as a measurement of the former. That is, if the criteria cannot be established with any definit(iv)e precision and, once established, accepted as socially valid and justifiable by not only cultural sanitizers but also by the cultural agents themselves (i.e. people making music and writing lyrics) then the opinions pronounced by any sort of a cultural committee cannot be taken as general societal estimations but only as subjective (non-)appreciations of objective(ly existing) cultural forms. The only criteria ever offered by those who claimed competence in evaluating cultural output were good taste, proper artistic and aesthetic expression, and appropriate artistic form. As to what constitutes these, that was never fully explained, or explained at all.

How successful was this strategy of value added tax as an attempt to deal with cultural trash? As Pavlović (1978: 17) observes: "the taxed-versus-non-taxed-records 1:3 ratio from the last year's production tells a bit different story from the records' real presence among, and impact on, the listeners; the taxed records are being sold in much larger numbers". In fact, higher prices in many cases worked as a sale-incentive since, as Pavlović puts it, "many shoppers believe that a higher price indicates special [i.e. higher] quality" (1978: 17). Ultimately,

> the trash tax thus does not yield expected results — at least not in Serbia. Trash is a complex social and cultural phenomenon, so it is not enough that only a five-member committee wrestles with it, and especially so if the only tool at its disposal is tax scissors. This predicament, however, has not, as of yet, become the concern of the entire society[39]. (Pavlović 1978: 17)

Pavlović's conclusion is important on two fronts: first, as an indication that cultural trash was indeed the phenomenon considered to be of great consequence for the cultural life of Yugoslav society and, as such, something that has a significant impact in all of its spheres; and, secondly, as a caution that the problem of cultural trash could not be dealt with successfully by the strategy of 'selective and limited attack(s)' but only by an all-encompassing social action of permanent and persistent cultural vigilance undertaken by a broad front of a variety of socio-cultural agents, and applied with the same vigor to all spheres of cultural life. As he puts it:

> In the long run, the trash will be uprooted or qualitatively transformed when the composition of social environment that feeds it in its present form changes. ... For as long as social circumstances are feeding the demand for fast and fruitless illusions, trash will find its way to the people[.]
> […]
> Needless to say, social responsibility is not exhausted by verbal stigmatization or by banning of trash. The resilience of trash does not lie within trash itself — in and of itself trash is ephemeral like all other consumables — but in the circumstances that create and sustain the need for it. (Pavlović 1981a: 23)

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[39] Grabčanović (1983: 2) expresses the same sentiment, adding that "lately we have been seriously preoccupied with environmental pollution but not with the pollution of peoples' conscience; instead of changing things we have pacified our conscience with a bureaucratic measure, the taxation of trash' (for further critical remarks, see Grabčanović 1983).

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Despite Pavlović's advice, however, the societal confrontation with 'cultural trash' — at least within music industry — remained overwhelmingly at the level of sanitization and of attempts to intervene in the cultural process through either appealing to cultural-aesthetic sensibilities of cultural producers themselves (musicians, composers, lyricists, etc.), or counting on socialist-humanist impulses of the individuals occupying positions of power within the culture industries (editors, producers, directors, etc.). This, in addition to the fact that the general criteria of cultural protection(ism) were never clearly specified but rather left to the discretion of individual cultural agents and institutions, made the struggle against cultural pollutants highly cosmetic in nature and unable to really stand up for the culture of genuine socialist humanism it claimed to guard.

The cultural-aesthetic discovery of rock'n'roll took place within this atmosphere of high cultural alertness and heightened sensitivity towards cultural pollutants and their (potential) impact on society. The fact that, from the viewpoint of the cultural-political authorities, the new rock-phenomenon espoused what appeared to be an attitude of rebellion in a stylistic and poetic manner unfamiliar to the official cultural ear made Yugoslav rock-music perhaps not so much substantively problematic as idiomatically incomprehensible to the official cultural-aesthetic sensibilities. In other words, the official society's problem with rock'n'roll and its relationship to the culture proper was not so much in what it said (although that on occasion became an issue as well) but in how it said it. This, in turn, made rock'n'roll mostly aesthetically subversive rather than, in terms of the official viewpoint, threatening to the fundamentals of socialist-humanist culture. In contrast to their attitude towards New Country, the cultural-political officialdom did not perceive the country's rock-music as a manipulating and dehumanizing form of cultural expression but rather as a cultural form at odds with the prevailing cultural-aesthetic sensibilities. They were simply not used to the new rock'n'roll poetic that appeared as it out of nowhere, and this problem of aesthetics was the driving force both behind the ambiguities of official attitude(s) towards the new popular-cultural form, and behind the official attempts to 'tame it'.

Of the two general and ambiguous criteria used to offer authoritative pronouncements on rock'n'roll as a cultural form — 'ability to play well' and 'form used to express oneself' — the second figured much more prominently. As Semenčić *et al.* observe (Semenčić, Kapeski and Kokan 1979), in great many cases the official criticism or rock-music was phrased along the lines of 'illiterate texts with wrongly chosen thematic', amounting to a stance that there was something wrong with how and why things are being said. In Semenčić *et al.*'s view, the persistent emphasis on the illiteracy of rock'n'roll lyrics was an indication of a fundamental lack of comprehension of the new urban rock'n'roll sensibility by a generation that grew up in utterly different cultural circumstances and was therefore apparently incapable of true appreciation of something completely alien to it[40]. As Kustić puts it: "[t]he colloquial speech (and that often seems to be the root-cause of the problem) is constantly changing, evolving and broadening, and it is rather odd to evaluate it according to fluffy light-pop formulae and patterns from twenty years ago" (Kustić 1981: 14). What made rock-music problematic and unacceptable in the eyes of official cultural sanitizers was the fact that, after taking the substantive turn, Yugoslav rock'n'roll spoke about different things and did so in a manner different from the established norms of standard (i.e. traditional) pop-music. And that 'explicit oddity of being' set off the cultural alarms.

Although the language of rock'n'roll was at the forefront of a tenuous relationship between the official culture and the new popular-cultural force, an additional level of ambiguity was introduced by rock-music's innovative use of visual language to communicate with an audience, culture and society. The new and unfamiliar aspect of Yugoslav rock-music was not only that it said things in a new way through a new linguistic idiom, but that it also used new visual means (i.e. the record cover) to add a new communicative dimension to its message and intent. And this was something radically new to both the recording industry and the society's culture whose expectations and comprehension of the record cover went as far as thinking about it as a carton sleeve that houses a piece of plastic for the purposes of more convenient store-shelving. That it could potentially have a function other than pragmatic-utilitarian was simply outside of the established professional/cultural cognitive parameters[41]. When all of a sudden rock-bands started using carton sleeves as a means of visual expression, and did that in a highly experimental fashion (i.e. not plastering the photos of themselves), the cultural authorities were taken aback for they simply had no cultural-aesthetic referents for evaluating and comprehending this new popular-cultural invention. The best cultural sanitizers could do with it was to attempt a fairly rudimentary surface reading of visual texts offered and interpret them through the prism of their own visual illiteracy. Getting at the embedded meaning and trying to assess it both in its own right and in terms of its intercommunicability with the 'musical complements' (i.e. songs) was simply beyond them.

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[40] This is more than obvious in the comment made by Stevan Markičević of "Belgrade 202" radio-station: "For us older generation rock is very problematic as, shall we say, a music form. Music itself is of secondary importance while lyrics seem to be at the forefront" (Markičević in Kremer 1986c: 30). What the statement amounts to is a recognition that there is a generation-gap in the cultural criteria and expectations when it comes to 'acceptable' vs. 'problematic'. The implication here is that 'acceptable' is the usual and expected, and 'problematic' (and thus 'unacceptable') is the unusual and un-expected.

The problems of cultural-aesthetic dimension of the discovery of rock'n'roll are perhaps most vividly illustrated by the very first case of record company's direct involvement (or, perhaps more accurately, interference) in rock-band's creative artistic process. As with almost everything else having to do with the growing pains of Yugoslav rock-music, Goran Bregović's band *Bijelo dugme* and its 1979 LP recording "Bitanga i princeza" ("The Rascal and the Princess") were at the center stage of 'censorship affair'. Upon reviewing the recording, *Jugoton* — the band's record company — demanded that some lyrical content be changed and made less offensive (namely, changing 'Christ' in the line 'and Christ was a poor bastard' to 'he'), and that the record's initial cover design, which according to the label represented an 'act of brutal aggression' (the cover depicted a close-up of a male crotch being kicked by a female foot), be redesigned into something less disturbing[42]. Initially, Bregović fought to keep everything as originally intended[43] and

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[41] This was not surprising given that the majority of record covers was based on, in stylistic terms, an identical solution of a prominent portrait image of a singer, or a portrait of a band, along with big lettering identifying performer(s) and song-title(s), strategically placed so as to prevent any ambiguity about who/what it is that a music aficionado is purchasing.

[42] Regarding the record and its visualization, Bregović observes:

> Record "The Rascal and the Princess" speaks about a relationship between a fed up, tired man and a naïve girl. All songs on the record are love songs,

then offered several (i.e. five) versions of the visual idea for the record's cover. However, when the record company stood firm in its decision to not publish the material in the originally intended form, Bregović agreed to change the lyrics but, as a sign of his protest and disagreement with the label's stance on the issue, refused to change the visual presentation of his music, threatening to forbid selling of the record (see Spasović and Žutelija 1979: 13). As the final solution, and after the fifth revision of the cover, he suggested to release the record in a white, no-logo, cover[44] (for Bregović's reaction, see Metiljević and Batinić 1979; for comments by the cover designer, Dragan S. Stefanović, see Tvrtković 1979b). *Jugoton*'s solution to the artistic impasse was to hire an in-home designer Ivan Ivezić to repackage the record with a close-up portrait of the former Miss-Yugoslavia Nikica Marinović and release it with the cover that, in Rajin's view (1979b: 40), stands for "the most peripheral surface-ornamentalization rather than an attempt to penetrate the real context of the music offered on the record" (for critical take on visual censorship of Bijelo dugme's record cover see Rajin 1979b). *Jugoton*, in other words, considered the cover as mere packaging for the record rather than as a visual complement to and information about the real content of the music on the record and acted accordingly. The end

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> with simple words and without pathos and adjectives. … I wanted to say that we live in a world and times where there are people who are only rascals or only princesses. With this kind of idea, the cover accompanying the record fits quite well. I believe that the cover is not bizarre in any way, except that it is done extraordinarily well. (Bregović in Spasović and Žutelija 1979: 13)

[43] As Bregović explained it:

> The constitution guarantees the freedom of beliefs. So, if someone can freely be for Christ — which I think is completely fine — why can't someone also as freely be against Christ. I am against Christ and wish to present my anti-religious sentiments in my songs. However, *Jugoton* … doesn't want any headaches; they are only interested in the money we can make for them. Quite often I was given messages like, 'Shut up and sing; don't meddle in politics!' But I don't want to — there, I really don't want to — to be that way! However, we have decided to change the problematic text. First we suggested that the entire part be played backward, to simply reverse the tape. They did not accept this at *Jugoton*, for 'what if someone tapes the song, plays the tape backward and — discovers Christ?' Really — awful! In the end Željko [the band's singer] did re-record that part, but that is no longer what I wanted to say. (Bregović in Spasović and Žutelija 1979: 13)

[44] As explained by *Bijelo dugme*'s record label, *Jugoton*:

> The cover has to satisfy certain aesthetic, artistic and graphic principles. We have not yet accepted the final graphic solution because we care for it to be of quality and attuned to the taste of young audience. Therefore, we cannot act hastily in our decision-making process. (in Spasović and Žutelija 1979: 13)

result, as Tvrtković (1979b) puts it, was 'castrated rock' (for Bregović's critical reassessment of the whole affair some four years later, see Nikolić 1983a).[45]

Another case that involved the very first Yugoslav alternative rock-band *Buldožer* (*The Bulldozer*) (see Chapter 4) illustrates the more radical — although exceptionally rare — recording-industry approach to dealing with and resolving cultural-aesthetic ambiguities. After the pre-recording perusal of lyrics for the band's second LP "Zabranjeno plakatiranje" ("No Putting Up Posters"), the record label PGP RTB demanded some changes in one of the texts (word 'nirvana' was to be substituted with 'kafana' (*bar*) because the former had, at least in the heads of record-label executives, associations with drug culture) and, after these were made, the band was given green light to proceed with the recording (see Glavan 1986b). However, after the record was made and ready for release, and after a few more 'internal spins', it was concluded that there are some ethical ambiguities with the material and that it was not altogether clear if the record ought to be presented to the public. The final outcome of the record company's cultural-ethical ambiguities (and perhaps the best illustration of their nature) was that the record was released only to be withdrawn from the shelves shortly thereafter. The after-the-fact conclusion by PGP RTB was that *Buldožer* simply went too far and that the material presented on

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[45] On a larger socio-cultural plane, the whole affair was significant because it was highly revealing of traditionalist-patriarchal *conscience collectif* of Yugoslav cultural establishment, or — to be more precise — some of its institutional outposts. As Zastavniković writes:

> Only a couple of years ago the very same record company released a record ["What Would You Give to Be in My Place" ("Šta bi dao da si na mom mjestu")] by the very same Buttons [Dugme] with the following cover: **a close-up of female bottom latched on by a male paw.** However, an attack on female bottom was not taken for brutality, even less so for perversion, to say nothing of lack of taste. On the contrary — that was original.
>
> **One ought not doubt "Jugoton"'s good intentions** in wishing to satisfy the principles of "quality" attuned to the taste of young audience, **but, it appears, one ought to doubt the company's very principles.** How else to explain such a discrepancy: the same principle evaluates differently — in terms of its bizarreness or originality, it doesn't really matter — two very same things? Or was "Jugoton", perhaps, guided by the need for **emancipation of men**? (Zastavniković 1979: 10, original emphasis)

Indeed, not only did *Jugoton* not see (and therefore failed to recognize) anything problematic about double standards as applied to evaluation of 'artistic, esthetic and graphic principles' involved in the designs of *Bijelo dugme*'s two record covers, but the whole issue of *Jugoton*'s traditionalist-patriarchal stance eluded (almost completely) the whole public defense of Bregović's idea. And that says quite a bit about the nature of socio-cultural climate of the time.

"Zabranjeno plakatiranje" was offensive to the public's cultural-aesthetic sensibilities.[46]

Bijelo dugme's experience with "Bitanga i princeza" and *Buldožer*'s troubles with "Zabranjeno plakatiranje" capture the essence of the official cultural-aesthetic ambiguities towards the new rock-phenomenon and the full range of the intercourse between the priorities of culture proper with its cultural-aesthetic values and the new stylistic musical/lyrical/visual aesthetic marshaled by the rock-music. Although with the full affirmation of rock'n'roll (through, first, *New Wave* and then *New Primitives* and, thereafter, *New Partisans*) the relationship between the official society and its most conspicuously present popular-cultural force(s) would intensify to an extent, its nature, however, would remain essentially unchanged and would, in one way or another, reflect the inability of the cultural sanitizers (be they record companies, trash committees, or mainstream media outlets) to come to terms with the cultural-aesthetic sensibilities of the new generation of young Yugoslavs[47] (for a chronicle of cultural sanitization of Yugoslav rock'n'roll, see Lazović 1986). Bound by the limitations of old cultural-aesthetic vistas, the guardians of Yugoslav cultural sensibilities could only respond to the aesthetics of the familiar and the conventional — to the rest, the reaction was an anxious incertitude of interceptive cultural-aesthetic interventionism.

Yugoslavia, Culture, and Popular Culture: A Résumé

In his research on the problem of youth in Yugoslav socialist community, Mihajlović observes the following:

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[46] The epilogue to *Buldožer*'s problems with "Zabranjeno plakatiranje" was that about a year after PGP PTB decided to pull the record off the shelves, another record label — Ljubljana's *Helidon* — picked up the project and released it without any cultural-ethical ambiguities of its own, and without public outcry over the record's problematic contents.

[47] An important exception here is *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s 'Marshall affair' and the problems the band had with Yugoslav cultural-political establishment over the statement allegedly made by the lead singer Nele Karajlić during the band's concert in Croatian city of Rijeka. The whole affair over, supposedly, Karajlić's words 'the Marshall has croaked on us' (*crk'o nam Maršal)* and 'we don't want from others, we don't have our own' (*tuđe nećemo, svoje nemamo*) — taken by the cultural-political authorities as insults to Yugoslav Marshall Josip Broz Tito and to the legacy of Yugoslav socialist revolution — resulted in the most persistent, and only, rock'n'roll witch-hunt ever undertaken .

> a generational approach to youth and, more broadly, the notion of generation as such have long been glossed over, and even today they are not used officially — perhaps because they are not considered Marxist enough. … The result of this logic is "non-acknowledgement" of any form of youth distinctiveness and particular youth interests, culminating in an unfortunate formulation about youth interests and problems being the interests and problems of society at large and, conversely, the interests and problems of society being at the same time those of youth. (Mihajlović 1987: 15)

In Mihajlović's view, the cumulative effect of this fundamentally misguided (pro)position is the *de facto* inability to fully come to terms with the central aspects and attributes of youth as the real-existing social category and entity. As he sees it, youth is a specific and distinct segment of population with manifold in-group variations and subtleties, but — from a generational viewpoint — also a social type with an essential commonality which connects the group to the larger society. Thus, understanding youth requires a double strategy: internal and external. The former deals with the for-itself aspects of youth (i.e. the subjective dimension of youth's generational existence), while the external deals with apprehending the in-itself dimensions of the youth's being in the world (i.e. the objective aspect of youth-society interrelationship). Only in this way, Mihajlović argues, can the research on youth yield constructive and meaningful insights into this vital segment of Yugoslav populace.

Contextualized within the general societal-cultural parameters, Mihajlović's observation is significant because it effectively captured a problem in the relationship between the Yugoslav official model of new socialist culture and Yugoslav youth culture — the hurdle of philosophical-ideological 'blinders'. The problem of youth was basically a problem of the inability — or unwillingness — of the cultural model based on Marxist categories of understanding the individual, class, and society to look past its own philosophical-ideological assumptions and (attempt to) transcend the limitations of its own cognition (what I have termed as abstract realism). This generated a mode of understanding that prioritized the presumed over the real and, in doing so, conceptualized particularities of the specific categories of people existing in society on the basis of philosophical-ideological suppositions about their 'essential nature' rather than on empirical encounters with the realities of their actually-existing nature, position, and location in society. The practical consequence for the official society was a sense of cognitive discrepancy arising every time the nature of the real would reveal itself as different from the nature of the presumed. This resulted, in turn, in attempts to either resolve the nature of the discrepancy within the official cognitive parameters or, where the discrepancy proved too great to be cleared up authoritatively, understand the real as it actually was.

The persistent and conspicuous presence of youth (culture) and rock'n'roll that proved to be of qualitatively different nature from the one presumed by the official society and by the goals of new socialist culture, resulted in two discoveries that tried to grasp the actually-existing realities of both phenomena in terms of their unique particularities, essential inter-linkages, and general socio-cultural standings. The end result of the empirical encounters between the official society and its popular-cultural counter-intuitions was a broadening, even if not entirely intentional, of the official cognitive insights, which, at least in some respects, enabled transcendence of the limitations of Marxist philosophical-ideological 'blinders'. Where transcendence proved to be more challenging was in the area of normative implications of the new cognitive insights — that is, within the realm of socio-cultural management of Yugoslav youth and rock'n'roll as the most significant form of Yugoslav popular-cultural expression. In other words, while dealing with the question of 'how to understand and think about youth and rock-music?' could, and did, escape the immediacy of Marxist parameters of new socialist culture, dealing with the question of 'how to 'handle' youth and rock-music?' remained overwhelmingly within their scope and cognitive grip. This, in turn, resulted in an instituting of mechanisms for socio-cultural management which sometimes proved ineffective, sometimes counter-productive, sometimes acutely incapable of offering constructive means of socio-cultural harmonization, but which were very seldom 'on the right track' in their relationship to (the problems of) youth and (the matters of) rock'n'roll. And this only made the interaction between the official society and the Yugoslav popular-cultural agency and its practices more precarious.

On a practical plane, the problems of socio-cultural (mis)management were a matter of official society's tendency to periodically misread the constructive intent of youth's and rock'n'roll's critical disposition towards specific processes and practices of society proper, and mistake it for (attempts at) undermining of the established system of socio-cultural and, on occasion, political values. This proved to be the principal obstacle in establishing a socio-cultural rapport of full trust and mutual confidence in each-other's intent: for the new rock'n'roll generation, the misreadings were indications that the official society simply 'does not get it' and that it has no confidence in youth's ability to engage with the realities of Yugoslav socialist community from the viewpoint of its unique socio-cultural position and experiences; for the official society, what was understood as transgressions of the new socio-cultural spirit of the rock'n'roll generation was taken as an indication of a need for vigilance and for reserve towards youth's new-found expressiveness. This two-way semi-*impasse* — although a disservice to both parties — was more of a disadvantage for Yugoslav youth (culture) and rock'n'roll since it not only hindered their striving for the full-fledged inclusion into the socio-cultural fabric of the society they considered as their own but it also needlessly diminished the seriousness of their commitment to a struggle for the realization of Yugoslav society as a genuine socialist-humanist community. This proved to be perhaps the greatest testimony to the lacuna in the normativity of philosophical-ideological assumptions of Yugoslav new socialist culture.

CHAPTER 4

The Substantive Turn: A Brief (Socio-Cultural) History of Yugoslav Rock'n'roll

The objective of Chapter 3 was to explore the relationship between the official Yugoslav model of new socialist culture and the new popular-cultural developments in the mid-1970's. In particular, the aim was to examine the two discoveries by the society proper instigated by the rise of rock'n'roll as a radically new form of popular-cultural experience and the affirmation of youth as the real-existing social agency (with)in Yugoslav society. The discovery of youth produced a new awareness about the need to move away from the official socio-cultural discourse of 'our youth' and reformulate the understanding of youth as a social agency within a real socio-cultural location and particular socio-cultural position in Yugoslav society. The discovery of rock'n'roll forgrounded the importance of understanding the new rock-phenomenon as Yugoslav youth's most important means of socio-cultural expression, and of understanding its societal-cultural and cultural-aesthetic aspects along with its implications for Yugoslav society and for its model of new socialist culture. An argument implicit in the consideration of the official-society/popular-culture relationship was that the discoveries of youth and rock'n'roll as the new and important dimensions of Yugoslav socialist community were grounded in the substantive turn of Yugoslav rock-music. This turn changed the nature of rock'n'roll itself and, at the same time, radically altered the nature of rock-music's relationship to the rest of the society. In taking the substantive turn, thus, Yugoslav rock'n'roll was ultimately transformed into not only a socially consequential popular-cultural force but also into the very first, and perhaps the most important, authentic means of youth's socio-cultural expression.

What I wish to do in this chapter is to take a more detailed look at the substantive turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll and consider in some detail its specific historical and socio-cultural foundations. I will do this by discussing the principal phases and shifts in the history of Yugoslav rock-music and, then, by exploring in detail the principal socio-cultural causal forces that fundamentally reoriented the nature of Yugoslav rock'n'roll experience. The guiding premise of this exploration is the argument that understanding the nature of the substantive turn hinges upon understanding the transformative journey of Yugoslav rock'n'roll from its initial popular-cultural incarnation as the 'substance of style' to its final popular-cultural expression as the 'style of substance' — that is, from the initial perception of the essence of rock'n'roll as a matter of particular 'performative style' to the final conception of its essence as the 'music of commitment'. Thus, in exploring the substantive turn of Yugoslav rock-music I wish to get at the nature of rock'n'roll's substance as a distinctive form of engaged socio-cultural *praxis*.

In dealing with the historical path of Yugoslav rock-music I will follow a four-phase periodic chart: phase one — from about the mid-1950's to about the mid-to-late-1960's; phase two — from about the mid-1960's to the early 1970's; phase three — the period from the early 1970's until about 1977; and phase four — from 1977 until the late 1980's. I should make it explicit that my aim in considering each of the phases is not to offer a detailed factual discussion on the most important Yugoslav rock-bands (for an authoritative source, see Janjatović 2001a) but, rather, to trace the historical path of a changing nature of the normativity of rock-music as a socio-cultural practice in the Yugoslav socialist community. While an elementary familiarity with some of the names I will reflect on in my exploration might be of some benefit, the absence thereof fundamentally should not distract on from getting at, as it were, the 'substance behind the names'.

In the context of the focal point of the chapter — the socio-cultural causal forces of the substantive turn — I will center my discussion on the transformative impact of the British punk movement on the nature and intent of Yugoslav rock'n'roll. In this context, I will discuss the specifics of local appropriations of punk attitudes and philosophy and as they were transplanted onto Yugoslav socialist ground, and explore their role in the formation of new rock'n'roll radicalism and the new attitude of rock'n'roll *praxis*. In dealing with these, I will consider the three most important aspects involved: the social grounding of new rock-phenomenon, rock'n'roll as music of commitment, and the new understanding of a 'calling' of rock-musician. The overall intent in considering the specifics of the substantive turn is to provide a more elaborate grounding for understanding and situating of the discoveries of youth and rock'n'roll, and to set the necessary socio-cultural/philosophical framework necessary for dealing with the three particular incarnations of 'music of commitment' — *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans*.

Let me begin by taking up the first aspect of the substantive turn — the transformative historical journey of Yugoslav rock'n'roll.

Yugoslav Rock'n'roll: Phases and Shifts

The process of Yugoslav cultural democratization of the mid-1950s coincided with the popular-cultural scene taken in the latest music development from the West — rock'n'roll. In the spirit of broadening society's cultural horizons, the presence of rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia was not taken as too problematic and the shaping of new rock'n'roll culture was, generally, interpreted by the authorities as a new pastime of predominantly urban, and still immature, youth. According to Aleksandar Žikić (1999), instrumental in the inauguration of rock'n'roll into the Yugoslav cultural landscape were Radio-Luxemburg and, especially, the 'fatal carousels' of Italian amusement parks. Both were strategically important as a means of relaying the distant Western rock'n'roll exotica to the ears of young Yugoslavs, offering the initial taste of the sound from somewhere 'out there in the world' — Radio-Luxemburg through its weekly pop-charts and the 'fatal carousels' through imported 'entertainment soundtracks'. Vlada Janković Džet, one of the pioneers of Belgrade rock'n'roll scene, comments on the latter:

> The key to the penetration of rock'n'roll in Belgrade were the carousels. In amusement parks owned by the Italians there was always music playing. They were bringing in the latest hit records, and - as if hypnotized - we would always go to the parks to hear the early rock'n'roll songs, like "Tutti Frutti" and such. ... The carousels and amusement parks were the main places[48]. It was only later that the jukeboxes appeared, that we got first dance parties and so on. Before that, there was practically nothing. (Džet in Žikić 1999: 26)

In the inaugural phase — the late 1950s until the mid-1960s — rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia was largely a marginal phenomenon tied to a few larger urban settings with the non-existing rock'n'roll industry, and revolving primarily around a 'reproductive approach' on the part of the existing rock'n'roll groups and weekend dance parties as the main forms of public rock'n'roll performances. The first phase, thus, was more or less a carbon copy of its Western 'big brother', characterized by the bands trying their to cover the current hits learned from Radio-Luxemburg top-charts and to emulate the style of American and British rock'n'roll bands while playing their songs to a dance-prone youth audience. Original songs, if present at all, represented a small and highly marginal a segment of the bands' repertoire. Ultimately, the music of the inaugural period was as imitative as it was — on the substantive plane — empty.

The principal attraction of the early rock'n'roll rested in the attitude that came with the music — i.e., in the sensation that rock'n'roll is a rebellion against the establishment, against, that is, the established norms of thinking, behaving, and fitting in. The appeal of rock'n'roll was, in other words, in its *appearance* rather than its essence, that is, in the way it 'concretized' itself through a particular kind of public performance. In this context, the authorities' greatest apprehension towards this new youth phenomena was not so much about the music as such, but about the potentially corrupting and decadent influence that rock'n'roll culture as a new form of youth's being in the world might exert on the Yugoslav young. It was therefore the *style* of rock'n'roll — rather than its substance — that would become the principal issue in the context of challenging the boundaries of the project of Yugoslavia's cultural defining. It was only with *New Wave* in the late 1970s that the substance of rock'n'roll would itself become one.

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[48] The importance of carousels as inaugurators of rock sound was immortalized in the opening scene of one of the most important Yugoslav films, "Do You Remember, Dolly Bell?", directed by Emir Kusturica: the main character is standing below a carousel speaker and — while gazing at it — listens attentively and tries to memorize the lyrics of the latest Italian hit-record "10,000 Kisses".

On a larger socio-cultural plane, the behavioral disposition that came with the early rock'n'roll was important because it appended, no matter how preliminarily, some sort of a normative component to the music, in making a distinction between the 'real rock'n'roll' and everything else (predominantly labeled as 'garbage', or 'music trash')[49]. Here recasting what can be termed as a 'normative ideal' of rock-music in terms of the existentialist notion of authenticity — i.e. a type of endeavor predicated upon 'an ethic of action and self-commitment' (Sartre 1989) — is perhaps most helpful for getting at the nature of the distinction between the real rock-music and rock'n'roll garbage. In the inaugural phase of Yugoslav rock'n'roll, the real rock-music was recognized as something fundamentally authentic in the sense of being built around a performative style that embodied committedly rebellious and anti-establishment behavior propelled by a (not necessarily well refined) sense of an alternative social order, often cast in moral/ethical terms. The real rocker thus was someone truly authentic, that is, someone who was not faking rebelliousness and anti-establishment sentiments, but was an anti-establishment rebel out of genuine (ethical) impulses and a sense of commitment to those. Everything else — in other words, music that did not have that authentic chord — was, in the context of normativity thus framed, considered as an abomination of the rock'n'roll essence and branded accordingly as inauthentic garbage.

Ultimately, the authenticity the early Yugoslav rock'n'roll was actualized through a rebellious and anti-establishment performative style — the kind of behavioral disposition that defied what was understood as the dominant model of socialist ethics and morality, itself an odd blend of bourgeois conservative sensibilities and subdued anti-Western sentiments. Thus to get on the stage and behave like, say, Elvis Presley — gesticulating decadently (often with sexual overtones), and singing not too controllably — would be taken by the authorities as the kind of performative style suspect of having a corrupting influence on youth and, therefore, something to worry about for it was challenging the soci(et)al moral/ethical codes. Analogously, the same performative style — because it rebels against the establishment's ethical and moral sensibilities — would be read as an expression of rock'n'roll authenticity and the ultimate incarnation of its normative commitments. Thus, the initial forms of controlling rock'n'roll had to do with curtailing stylistic decadence in the name of preserving the higher-order socialist morality, rather than — as it was the case in the USSR, for example — safeguarding the socialist system as such.

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[49] This dichotomy, incidentally, is still operative in the ex-Yugoslav rock'n'roll journalism. The most explicit recent example would be Aleksandar Žikić's *Fatalni ringišpil* (*Fatal Carousel*) (1999), the underlying thread of which is an argument that the history of Yugoslav rock'n'roll is one of the gradual defeat of the 'real' rock music and victory of 'rock'n'roll garbage', epitomized in the music of the most popular Yugoslav band *Bijelo dugme*.

The second phase of Yugoslav rock'n'roll — the period from the mid-1960 to early 1970's — begins with the formation of first professional rock bands (such as *Korni Grupa* (*Korni Group*) and *Indexi*) and ends with the emergence of the most important Yugoslav band, *Bijelo dugme*. The main characteristic of this phase is an all-around technological, performative and stylistic professionalization of rock'n'roll — i.e. access to better instruments, a more serious approach to music and better playing; more defined sense of style and target audience; and gradual transformation of weekend dance parties into first rock'n'roll concerts. On an infrastructural plane, the 'Bronze Age' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll is witness to a developing recording industry and increasingly rock-accepting (if not necessarily friendly) media outlets, the two crucial developments that secured the presence and visibility of rock music under the country's socio-cultural sky. In a word, with the second phase, Yugoslav rock'n'roll makes the first significant inroads towards full-fledged socio-cultural legitimation and institutionalization.

From the point of view of the normativity of rock music, however, by far the most important second-phase development was the gradual emergence of a more author-conscious approach to music — i.e. the initial(ization of) transformation of Yugoslav rock'n'roll from a fundamentally reproductive to a more creative process —

which brought about significant changes in the understanding of rock'n'roll as an authentic cultural practice . As already discussed, one of the principal reasons for the positing the authenticity of rock'n'roll through a particular performative style (rather than music itself) was the fact that for the first ten or so years of its existence Yugoslav rock'n'roll relied predominantly on covering the British and the American top-singles rather than producing anything original. Thus the apex of artistic creativity was measured by how well a band was able to 'get' the songs by listening to Radio-Luxemburg's top charts, rather than by whether the music being played reflected the band's unique creative energy and talents. By the mid-1960's, however, the Yugoslav music scene was slowly revolutionized by rock-bands (such as Sarajevo's *Indexi* and Zagreb's *Grupa 220*[50], for example) that placed increased emphasis and importance on composing and performing their own material rather than relying merely on reproducing other people's songs. In terms of the normativity of rock'n'roll, the appearance of original material and songs with a message meant a gradual shift from performative style to the substance of music as a measure of authenticity, or 'trueness'. Thus, what became important was not only how one projected oneself attitude-wise but also whether that attitude was backed up by meaningful music — i.e. songs that spoke about something concrete rather than just emulated the 'love-love-me-do' type of artistic creativity. Consequently, to be an authentic anti-establishment rebel — and, therefore, a true rocker — increasingly meant not only acting rebelliously but also rebelling through music, i.e. through themes and ideas communicated in one's songs. The style in itself was no longer sufficient; what was becoming crucial was the *substance* of that style.

To be sure, to say that the transition towards performing original material somehow translated into a flood of issue-songs would be an overstatement. However, alongside the standard rock'n'roll themes of 'love and commotion', songs with more meaningful lyrics were making inroads into the Yugoslav rock'n'roll scene. Overall, the predominant theme of these was the generation gap and the issues related to the older generation's misunderstanding of the new, youth-oriented, popular cultural trends. One of the early notable examples here is the song by the already-mentioned *Grupa 220*, "Kamo vodi sad sve to?" ("Where Does This All Lead To?"), crafted as a sort of an inter-generational dialogue and an attempt to make the experiences of youth more understandable to the not-so-young:

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[50] *Grupa 220* is usually credited with putting out the very first LP consisting entirely of the original material.

Kamo vodi sad sve to?	Where does all this lead to?
Eto tako dan za danom	There it is, day after day
stariji dižu glas	older folks are raising their voice
Zar to nije optužba protiv nas?	Is that not an accusation against us?
Uvijek isto – 'zašto nose duge kose svi?'	And it's always the same – 'Why do they have long hair?'
'Zašto danas nisu kao nekad mi?'	'Why aren't they as we used to be?'
Mi sve slušamo i čujemo	We listen and hear everything
mi pjevamo, ne psujemo	what we do is sing, not curse
i mislimo da u tom nema zla	and we think that there is no harm in it
Kamo vodi sad sve to?	Where does all this lead to?
Eto tako dan za danom	There it is, day after day
poneko diže glas	people are raising their voice
Uvijek ista optužba protiv nas ...	and it's always the same accusation against us ...
K'o da od vas nitko nije bio mlad	As if none of you was ever young
Tako oštro bi ste protiv svega sad	that's how strongly you feel against everything now
i vi ste plesali i pjevali, mrzili i voljeli	but you also were singing and dancing, loving and hating
i znali ste kud odvešće vas to	and you knew where it all will lead you to
Kamo vodi sad sve to?	Where does all this lead to?
Da li znate kamo je sve to odvelo nekad vas?	Don't you remember where all of it once led you to?
Eto tamo odvešće i sve nas	it's exactly there that all of this will lead us too
kao nekad vas ...	the same way it did you ...

What is striking about the lyrics is their appeasing tone crafted as an attempt to reassure the older generation that there is nothing to be concerned about: the youth knows what it is doing and what is expected of it, and — just as with the previous generation — the path it is on inevitably leads to the fulfillment of those expectations.

Another quintessential 'Bronze Age' band, Sarajevo's *Indexi*, offered a prototype of a somewhat different issue-song which — although in a highly indirect manner — questions the nature of society and the issue of authority and its standing *vis-à-vis* ordinary people. Entitled "Da sam ja netko" ("If I Were Somebody") the song can be read as a message that perhaps not everything is as idyllic as it may appear, and that, perhaps, ordinary people should have a say in 'what is to be done' about their own lives:

Da sam ja netko	If I were somebody
pozvao bih sve dječake	I would gather all boys
dao bih im igračke	give them toys
i pustio ih da se cijeli dan	and let them play and run around
igraju i jure	all day long

Radili bi divne stvari	We would do amazing things
prekratki bi bili dani	days would be too short
voljeli bi svoje škole đaci	students would love their school
Da sam ja netko	If I were somebody
Svim majkama bih izbrisao bore	I would erase the wrinkles of all mothers
učinio da očevi ih vole	make their husbands love them again
davnu ljubav da im vrate	give them back the long lost love
i da mirno žive svoje sate	and quiet, tranquil living
Da sam ja netko	If I were somebody
nebi ljudi život proklinjali	people wouldn't curse their lives
sve bi ruže sebi poklanjali	but give roses to each other
Kako bi se živjelo	How we would live
i kako bi se voljelo	how we would love
i kako bi dobro bilo	how good it would be
Da sam ja netko...	If I were somebody...

The song is also significant because it makes use of music — rather than lyrics alone — as a means of conveying the message: the heavier and darker music arrangement is crafted as a 'sonorial woof' that reflects the mood of the issue(s) communicated and leaves the listener not with the 'everything-is-going-to-be-all-right' sensation but with a dose of residual disquiet.

Normativity-wise, the importance of the second phase of was in reorienting the notion of authenticity from the terrain of stylistic appearance to the domain of substantive essence of rock music: the true music, or the real rock'n'roll, was now evaluated increasingly not through the prism of how it looked but of how it felt and/or what, if anything, it communicated. The presence of communicative substance was an indication of 'being' and, therefore, of the ultimate normative essence[51]; its absence was the sign of 'nothingness' and, therefore, of the inconsequential emptiness of rock'n'roll garbage.

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[51] Reflecting on the importance of 'communicative substance' as the essence of rock'n'roll — and its absence in the initial period of the development of Yugoslav rock music — Janjatović observes:

> For an entire generation of musicians it was easier to transplant foreign rock rhythms than to create adequate lyrics to the same music. For if rock music carries energy, action, and life itself then the lyrics also ought to have the very same components. Rock music simply has to have rock text, the kind of text one really wants to say something with rather than use it for the mere filling of the already written music. (Janjatović 1979: 42)

The essence of rock music in Janjatović's view is in its communicative substance rather than performative style alone. It is the former, rather than the latter, that is at the heart of genuine rock'n'roll expression.

Writing in 1979, on the eve of *New Wave*'s full-blown expansion, Janjatović still sees the absence of meaningful lyrics as one of the main problems of Yugoslav rock'n'roll. He, however, recognizes new and emerging rock-forces (*Parafi*, for example) as potentially breathing in the sorely needed lyrical 'wind of change'.

The third phase of Yugoslav rock'n'roll — the period from the early 1970's until about 1977 — is hallmarked by the rise and establishment of *Bijelo dugme*, Yugoslavia's most important rock'n'roll band. Reflecting on the centrality of the band, Vukojević argues that the history of Yugoslav rock'n'roll really begins only with *Bijelo dugme* and that everything preceding it is but its pre-history; it is only with *Bijelo dugme* that Yugoslavia, in Vukojević's view, gets its first taste of the real rock'n'roll and it is, therefore, *Bijelo dugme* that is the principal and most important catalyst of rock'n'roll developments in Yugoslavia. As he puts it,

> like it or not "Bijelo dugme" is our first real rock band. They knew what they were doing from the very beginning, offering to the just-formed audience what it was asking for: pure rock without incoherent intellectualizing, with lyrics written in common language but, at the same time, with precise and suggestive imagery. ... One thing is certain, for sure: after the emergence of "Bijelo dugme" Yugoslav rock'n'roll was never again the same. (Vukojević 1979a: 27)

Or as Pajović puts it: "Th[e third] phase carries the same name as the band that marked it: *Bijelo dugme*" (Pajović 1981: 17).

So what makes *Bijelo dugme* so significantly central to the history of Yugoslav rock'n'roll? To answer this we should make a distinction between two planes of importance: musical, and socio-cultural. On a musical plane, *Bijelo dugme*'s overall importance is in professionalizing all aspects of music practice and introducing a new category in the country's cultural vocabulary — that of *rock-musician*. Before the band, the 'rocker' denomination was used to demarcate a passing interest and an essentially leisurely form of cultural engagement with no substantive consequence for one's sense of the self. In the pre-*Bijelo dugme* world, thus, to be a rocker meant to tinker with music before getting serious and leaving behind the pastimes of youth. With *Bijelo dugme* the notion of a rocker is respecified as rock-musician, which is meant to denote a type of 'cultural calling' and thus (one of) the central dimensions of one's life-pursuits and identity. In simple terms, what *Bijelo dugme* inaugurates and credentializes is an understanding that one can be a professional musician (and think of musician as a profession) and make living from playing music. Further, with *Bijelo dugme* rock'n'roll as a form of cultural practice experiences a 'great qualitative leap forward' in all aspects and respects, from the way music is recorded and produced to the way it is presented to the public and performed in concerts. In other words, the process of music creation and marketing is raised to the previously unknown levels of professionalism. And finally, *Bijelo dugme* also introduces a new (level of) understanding of popular music as a substantively creative and artistic engagement by deeming not only sound and lyrics but also — and perhaps more importantly — the 'space between the notes' as crucial for the overall understanding and appreciation of rock'n'roll as a cultural code and a form of communication. In other words, with *Bijelo dugme* the *idea* of rock'n'roll is given radically new and qualitatively richer dimension and meaning.

On a broader socio-cultural plane, *Bijelo dugme* is centrally important as a catalyst for the emergence of the new popular-cultural dimension in Yugoslav society — youth culture — and for the new ways of its envisioning, conceptualization and problematization. This, of course, is not to say that youth culture did not exist before the band, but what changes with *Bijelo dugme* is that, firstly, youth culture becomes an acknowledged aspect of society's cultural mainstream and, consequently, a legitimate dimension of its *conscience collectif*, and that, secondly, youth culture becomes explicitly linked to rock-music so that the latter is taken as a 'material incarnation' of the former. Thus the new variable inaugurated with *Bijelo dugme* is the conceptualization of youth culture as a *mainstream* (rather than peripheral) cultural practice crucially related to rock-music and, therefore, its problematization in relation to specific aspects of rock'n'roll practice itself. This, in turn, resulted in both youth culture and rock-music, as discussed in Chapter 3, becoming the topics of serious public reflection and debate whose purpose was to come to terms with these new and unknown social phenomena, ad they were seen by the socio-cultural and political establishment. It is only because of the groundbreaking success of *Bijelo dugme* and the overwhelming influence the band had on Yugoslav youth that the youth-culture/rock'n'roll relationship enters the realm of the country's official socio-cultural discourse.

Another important development in the third phase of Yugoslav rock'n'roll is the emergence of the notion of 'rock'n'roll alternative', which appeared in relation to the formation of the second (most) important band, *Buldožer* (*The Bulldozer*). If in the context of the country's rock-scene *Bijelo dugme* was the first and greatest mainstream rock'n'roll band, *Buldožer* was a Yugoslav incarnation of rock'n'roll underground introducing a new approach to music, performance and image, previously unknown to (or, perhaps better yet, not experienced by) the local rock'n'roll audience. Reflecting on the importance of *Buldožer* — in its own right and in relation to *Bijelo dugme* — Darko Glavan thus observes:

> If I were to sum-up the importance of *Buldožer* in one sentence I would have to limit myself to the statement that *Buldožer*, after *Bijelo dugme* created the first successful and usable version of Yugo-rock, won the struggle for unthinkable freedom of artistic expression within the framework of domestic rock.
>
> In fact, it is my deep conviction... that *Bijelo dugme* and *Buldožer* still represent the cursory and unsurpassed orienteers of domestic rock — the former as one of the best offspring of its "establishment" and latter of its "underground".
>
> [...]
>
> The principal strength of *Buldožer* is not that they were smarter and more 'intellectual' than others but that they were more passionate, genuine and obscure than all other local rockers taken together. (Glavan 1981b: 38-9)

Ultimately, *Buldožer* will prove to be important as an alternative precursor of the new rock sensibility to be inaugurated in the forth (and for our purposes final) phase of Yugoslav rock'n'roll.[52]

It is important to note here that, despite gradual and increasing institutionalization and professionalization, the Yugoslav rock'n'roll scene of the third phase consisted but a handful rock bands of some weight and significance, with *Bijelo dugme* clearly on the throne and *Buldožer* at the distant — but significant — second place. This two-tier hierarchy (*Bijelo dugme* and *Buldožer* vs. the rest) was perhaps most vividly conveyed by Glavan who writes in 1977 that, "after Goran Bregović [leader of *Bijelo dugme*] and Marko Brecelj [leader of *Buldožer*] had left for the YPA[53], it appears that there are more talented rockers in the service than on our

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[52] According to Bobić, *Buldožer*'s 1975 LP-release "Pljuni istini u oči" ("Spit into the Eyes of Truth") "announced the coming of engaged rock music which expresses youth's revolt against the School, the Family, the Car, the Career..." (Bobić 1979: 13)

[53] YPA stands for Yugoslav Peoples Army, the official military might of the country. All males were

'civil' stages" (Glavan 1977f: 17). In his view, the third phase of Yugoslav rock'n'roll can be, in terms of its real impact and significance, distilled to *Bijelo dugme* and *Buldožer*. The rest is more or less insignificant and, at best, peripheral.

Despite the undeniable deepening and broadening of rock-music within the socio-cultural parameters of Yugoslav society, however, as far as the official society was concerned rock'n'roll was still regarded as a 'foreign cultural force'. The 'operational wisdom' at work was that rock'n'roll was *a priori* an import of Western ideology and, as such, an anomaly[54] in decidedly socialist Yugoslavia. It was only in the fourth phase that rock'n'roll *in* Yugoslavia will come to be regarded as *Yugoslav* rock'n'roll.

The fourth phase of Yugoslav rock'n'roll begins in 1977 and ends in the late 1980's[55]. Its beginning is marked by the formation of the first punk-scene in Slovenia and the more-or-less parallel development of *New Wave* in the major urban centers; its middle period by the affirmation of *New Primitives* as, in Goran Bregović's estimation, 'the first local authentic reply to punk'; and its late period by *New Partisans* as the last significant music force to emerge on the Yugoslav rock-scene. Essential for this phase, as it will be detailed later on, is the emergence of a new and distinct rock sensibility, coupled with the new types of poetics (which I shall call poetics of the patriotic, poetics of the local, and poetics of the patriotic) oriented towards communication that is immediate and truthful — i.e. with meanings and messages, aiming at the real, the present, and the immediate. This new rock sensibility is effectively inaugurated by the Slovenian punk and cemented by the *New Wave*'s poetics of the patriotic and its 'critical realist' disposition. As Babić *et al* put it (1980: 19): "New Wave recognizes the ugly, the dirty, and the bad! It brings music which is not for consumption, because it poses questions and stimulates thinking".

On a larger institutional plane, essential for this period is an emergence of

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required to serve in the YPA as part of the obligatory military training.

[54] Important here is the transition in thinking on the part of Yugoslav socio-cultural officialdom: in the early days any form of foreign music was considered as an ideological enemy, whereas now it was regarded more as an odd and somewhat annoying presence.

[55] Since this phase is the principal problematic of my writing I will confine myself here to outlining its contours in very general and broad strokes. Its detailed analysis is offered in the chapters to follow.

what Pajović (1981) calls the 'Business Spirit' through the symbiosis of the media, the recording industry, and the rock-music itself. For all practical purposes, it was only in the fourth phase that the Yugoslav cultural space, although gradually and with a proverbial delay, gets its first rock-media and its first rock-industry (from the recording industry, to the promotion and presentation industry, to the concert and PR industry). Through these two, rock'n'roll established itself as an autochthon and, in a cultural sense, full-fledged social phenomenon. At the risk of somewhat overstating the case, one could argue that it was only in the last phase — and, in particular, with the full affirmation of punk[56] and *New Wave* — that rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia really became *Yugoslav* and *rock'n'roll*,[57] i.e. a popular-cultural form with the full-fledged socio-cultural existence. Everything before is, to borrow from Vukojević, but pre-history.

With this in mind, let me now move my attention to the substantive turn in Yugoslav rock-music and examine the impact of British punk on the radical reformulation of rock'n'roll as music of commitment.

The Substantive Turn: British Punk and the 'New Wave' of Yugoslav Rock

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[56] In Gall's view (Gall 1983), although cultivated by the 'British punk factor', the roots of Yugoslav punk are autochthonly local and decidedly different from those in Britain. Whereas in England the punk movement can, on the musical plane, be regarded as a reaction against the domination of the strong rock'n'roll mainstream (deemed as empty, bankrupt and corrupt by the new punk-rock forces), the Yugoslav 'punk revolution' was in effect the last step in the struggle of Yugoslav rock'n'roll for a legitimate place under the Yugoslav popular-cultural sun and for the clear differentiation, distinction and, in the end, emancipation from the confines of what was then (and now) recognized as mainstream pop-music (and production). Differently from the situation in Britain, where punk movement combated the forces of the well-established rock'n'roll scene, Yugoslav punk worked towards the building of domestic rock'n'roll and its shaping into a legitimate and established cultural phenomenon. Thus the place and role of punk in Yugoslavia corresponded much more to that of a cultural pioneer rather than of a cultural agitator (or *agent provocateur*) as was the case with its British counterpart.

[57] See, for example, Galvan's article "Sociology Lessons" and the thesis propagated therein: "domestic punk and *New Wave* is the first real, modern Yugoslav rock'n'roll" (Glavan 1983: 15). In Glavan's view, Yugoslav rock'n'roll before punk and *New Wave* was an accidental phenomenon and it is only in the mid-to-late 1970's that rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia becomes a legitimate popular cultural form of youth expression. This inauguration of rock'n'roll into an official cultural fabric of Yugoslav society has a wider and important socio-cultural consequences in terms of media functioning, recording industry operation, and general societal attitude *vis-à-vis* the new 'electric bands' (on this, see also Vince 1981).

In the Yugoslav popular media, the phenomenon of punk-rock/*New Wave*[58] was first registered in 1977. Before that, there was sporadic mention of this new development in popular music/culture, but it was not until 1977 that the matter was given more consistent and analytical coverage. The primary point of reference for understanding punk were the events and developments on the British rock scene, particularly those related to its burgeoning punk-rock compartment. While the 'movements' on the US scene were recognized and given its share of coverage, their importance was seen primarily in terms of (in)direct influences on the development of punk movement in England and, as such, given not very detailed — and certainly not very analytical — coverage in the Yugoslav music press.[59] Thus, the formation of Yugoslav 'new rock-consciousness' was mainly a matter of following and understanding — albeit with a slight delay[60] — the new developments on the British rock-scene.[61]

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[58] As Konjović defines it, *New Wave* as a category "encompasses a reaction against the existing rock-establishment of the first half of the '70's" (Konjović 1978c: 24). I use the same definition in my discussion of British punk.

[59] The primacy of the British punk-rock in the development of Yugoslav punk-rock sensibilities can be observed in the statement by Glavan (1980b: 17):

> In general terms, one can say that that punk and "new wave" in the USA are but an esoteric cult and, from a commercial viewpoint, an almost a negligible phenomenon, while punk in England is entangled with the essence of the political-economic crisis [of the British society].

The 'esoterica' of the American punk scene is related to the fact that 'punk' was used as a denomination indicating a specific location from which the 'new wave' of New York underground scene was formed rather than any specific stylistic, or substantive, music orientation. As Glavan (reflecting on the observation made by John Holmstrome) puts it, "any group that started out (and eventually gained fame) in the hub of the New York punk scene, the CBGB club, was automatically branded by mass media as punk rock" (Glavan 1977c: 17). Thus, the New York punk scene boasted bands such as *Talking Heads*, Patti Smith, *Television*, *Blondie*, and *The Ramones* all of which where quite distinct stylistically and substantively and shared — other than the CBGB club — very few, if any, commonalities. It was perhaps only *The Ramones*, as the exemplar of America's 'blank generation', that had something in common with the British punk scene, but the nature of that commonality had to do more with a performative style (short, brisk, and direct high-power songs) rather than with something much more substantive. In fact, the more direct link between the British punk scene and US rock'n'roll developments can be found in the American 'proto-punk' bands of the 1960's, such as, primarily, Detroit's *The Stooges* and *MC5*. They not only approximated more closely to what was happening in England stylistically but were also 'ideologically' much closer to what British bands were trying to do.

[60] This 'delay' was one of the primary reasons why the mid-1970's developments on the punk-rock scene and late-1970's/early-1980's British New Wave unfolding were effectively subsumed under the *New Wave* banner in Yugoslavia. For all practical purposes, by the time 'punk consciousness' penetrated Yugoslavia's popular cultural horizons punk in Great Britain was effectively dead, or — if not dead — on its last legs.

[61] Burlakov (1981) develops an interesting and rather insightful argument about essential developmental differences between Anglo-Saxon and Yugoslav rock'n'roll. In his view, the former emerged and spread as an actually existing and widely accepted popular practice oriented

In all Yugoslav texts dealing with the phenomenon of British punk one can clearly discern two dimensions of interpretation and understanding: symbolic-cultural and social-political. With the former, the principal point was to understand the emergence and development of punk-rock in terms of specific (dis)continuities within the existing rock'n'roll scene(s)/culture(s) and to explain its essence as some sort of a response to the state of rock'n'roll prior to its forming. With the latter, punk-rock was looked at as a particular form of popular-cultural consciousness which developed as a consequence of particular social and political developments in British society and which responded to what were perceived as negative consequences for the (majority of) British working class. Thus, on the symbolic-cultural front, punk-rock was interpreted as a response to elitization of rock'n'roll after the demise of the hippy movement in the late 1960's and as a radical negation of the post-'flower power' developments in popular music, particularly glam- and sympho-rock. The principal argument here was that the developments within the hippy movement and its music represented the essence — and, in many respects, the apex — of rock'n'roll consciousness, articulated as the idea(l)s of radical egalitarianism between the musicians and the audience, on the one hand, and as resistance to the commercial forces, on the other. As Vojnović (1977a: 44) writes:

> There was a revolution in California in the late 1960's. Musicians and audience became one. There were no calculations and no muddying. Beautiful music was created and no one was

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towards a great number of predominantly working-class population. The latter emerged as a 'closed field of avant-garde esoterica', that is, as something that was an overwhelmingly cognitive-intellectual phenomena circulating among the better-off and well-to-do young(er) members of society who were relatively small in number and of decidedly urban disposition. In other words, while rock abroad was crucially oriented towards 'doing it', rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia for the first 20 some years (until mid-1970's) was primarily a matter of 'thinking (and intellectualizing) about it'. The end result was rock'n'roll being an 'intellectual esoterica' supported by intelligent teenagers and figuring as a 'historical anomaly' of having rock'n'roll superstructure without an actual base, i.e. 'rock consciousness' without (much of) the actual 'rock'n'roll practice'. In Burlakov's view, crucial for the emergence of actual rock'n'roll practice in Yugoslavia was the British punk revolution and its transplantation onto the local soil. The essence of that revolution was a full democratization of rock'n'roll practice and the resultant you-too-can-play attitude which enabled Yugoslav young 'rock-intellectuals' of rather limited performative abilities and experiences to muster enough courage, pick up the instruments and — equipped with a requisite right attitude and ideas (which they had in abundance) — start de-esotericizing rock'n'roll practice. Hence the sudden creative outburst and energy in the late seventies, seemingly coming from nowhere and without previous history and/or cultural referent(s). It was all that unleashed energy that provided the foundation for Yugoslav *New Wave* of the late 1970's-early 1980's.

> short-changed.

However, these idea(l)s were betrayed with the corporatization of music and youth culture that came in the form of the destructive realization that there was a lot of money to be made off music(ians) and off the audience: "but then", Vojnović (1977a: 44) continues,

> the race for profit started and the poor musicians — whether they liked it or not — were separated from the alike poor audience. The stages were raised up, just so one knows who is who, and the people were separated from their idols by all kinds of smoke screens and laser beams[.]

Essential to this new paradigm, then, was not only a heightened sense of profitability of youth culture in all its manifestations (especially music) but also a radical transformation of the egalitarian relationship between the performers and the listeners into a one-way relationship between the idols and the admirers, coupled with an increased emphasis on the virtuosity and theatrics of a now rock-spectacle (see, for example, Rajin 1980a):

> Excellent music was created … by alienating the audience and imbuing it with a sense of lower-level worth[:] The listeners and spectators pay for the tickets and silently stare towards the stage. What they are listening to is beautiful, but none can whistle it, let alone sing it. (Vojnović 1977a: 44)

The musician was now a performer with a special gift that no member of an audience could match, and therefore a worthy object of admiration, while the audience turned into an amorphous crowd in awe of, and with no direct access to, its 'rock'n'roll god(s)'. This unlevelling of the musician-audience relationship also implied a clear demarcation between participating in and consuming rock'n'roll, in the context of which crossing to the other side on the part of audience was rendered virtually impossible. The hippy movement's democratic ideal of an all-around unison was thus transformed into the post-hippy autocracy of the 'gifted' over the 'ordinaries' which marked the perversion and, to some, betrayal of rock'n'roll consciousness once held so dear. However, "when", as Vojnović (1977a: 44) writes, "it seemed that music existed because of the gifted geniuses, the first punk-rocker appeared with a club in the hand, roaring: 'move over, I too wanna be a musician!'". Thus, according to symbolic-cultural line of reasoning, British punk figured as, ultimately, a 'systematic demystification' (Rajin 1980a: 26) of the post-hippy travesty of rock'n'roll consciousness with the aim of re-democratizing youth/music culture through 're-valorization of many of the original hippy ideas' (Rajin 1980a: 36) and returning to the purity, simplicity and immediacy of music expression, and to the unison and egalitarianism of human interrelations.[62] And this meant tearing down the currently existing norms of rock'n'roll show-business. As Konjović puts it:

> New Wave has done much for removal of the barriers between the performers and the audience not only in terms of specific concert-situation but also in terms of 'arming' the youth with guitars and amplifiers. The essence of rock'n'roll is in striving to erase the feeling of separation between the spectator and that which is taking place on the stage and 1977 shall remain known by the fact that during that time a great number of new names had for the first time stepped into a new perspective, without much hesitation or respect for tradition. (Konjović 1978e: 70)

Or Rajin:

> The efficacy of punk was in opening the possibility for the new generation to create and play its own music - something that literally set on course a 'new wave' of young people in music. And those 'new young people' have, without restraints, formulas and dilemmas, started singing about what surrounds them and what they feel, in the most simple and the most efficient way. They had left virtuosity, refined technique, megalomaniacal mise-en-scéne to their older, more experienced and more serious colleagues. (Rajin 1980a: 36)

The second dimension of interpretation — the social-political — understood British punk as a popular revolt by the disenfranchised British youth against the social, political and economic course of the mainstream society. The essence of this interpretation was an argument that, due to the particular political policies of the day and the economic recession, British society of the early 1970's was characterized by a heightened sense of social polarization particularly present in the urban working-class neighborhoods, and — in terms of British youth — the feeling of "political and economic non-privilege of an army of unemployed young English proletarians" (Laib 1985a: 22). The persistence of poverty and the bleakness of the working-class youth condition created a situation where an entire generation of young Brits felt left out by the mainstream society without any visible signs of improvement in any respect. The feeling was that there were two Englands — one for the rich minority and the other for the poor majority — and that the official England simply did not care about the conditions of life in the *lumpenproletariat* England, nor did it care to do anything to bridge the gap between the two. In this context, the outlook of the alienated and disenchanted British youth was that 'there's no future' in the England of their days and that there is nothing to be done to ameliorate the situation. Nothing, that is, but to voice their dissatisfaction with the condition of marginality and non-privilege, and rebel against the non-responsive British mainstream. As Laib writes:

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[62] On this point, Vojnović (1977a: 44) observes: "PUNK aids in shattering of misconceptions and in acceptance of rock'n'roll in a different way. Rock'n'roll was not invented by the ancient-Greek gods but by people from the people. Rock'n'roll is people's music and should be embraced that way".

> Realizing that 'there is no future (for them)' they accepted punk as a form of resistance, and anarchy, passivity and aggressiveness as their 'ideological point of departure'. They developed their values which were, in effect, the counter-values to the system that spit them out and rejected them as its own excrement, alienated, and ghettoized[.] (Laib 1985a: 24)

In terms of its relationship to a larger society, then, British punk was understood as a social and political protest and the only viable outlet for the otherwise invisible youth to say something meaningful about themselves and their own condition of life. As a form of political protest, punk movement operated by "demonstrating and unmasking the cynicism and false sheen of 'the state of welfare', while building its own system of values" (Laib 1985a: 24). As the 'voice of the invisible', it offered a means of authenticating a particular form of social experience and a way of reclaiming a specific type of both individual and collective identity often grounded in a radicalized form of political consciousness. Ultimately, punk-rock was perhaps the only outlet through which the majority of British youth could communicate its stance towards, and about, the mainstream society.

Punk in the SFRY: Engagement of the Estranged

Transplanted onto the local socio-cultural terrain, punk in Yugoslavia was of somewhat different socio-political orientation than its British ‘big brother’. To begin with, Yugoslavia was a non-capitalist and, as such (and at least nominally), classless society, so that element of class duality and of punk music being ‘voice of the voiceless’ did not really obtain in the Yugoslav case, at least not in the sense it did in England. As we shall see in a moment, within the official socio-political framework, Yugoslav youth was voiceless in some respects and to some degree, but the nature of that voicelessness had very little to do with their economic position in the society or with their sense of unique *lumpenproletariat* consciousness. Given this, punk music (and what became *New Wave*) was devoid of that radical political note it had in Great Britain. Its essence — more of a critique than a protest — was emanating from elsewhere. Let me elaborate on these two points.

Although inspired by the British punk movement, the ‘new wave’ of Yugoslav rock-music differed from it in two important respects: (1) the source of British punk was the disenfranchised working-class youth and their economic predicament, while the roots of Yugoslav *New Wave* were firmly grounded in the ‘alienated’ middle-class youth and their condition of ‘absent presence’; (2) while British punk had openly hostile, and destructive, attitude towards the official England, the ‘new wave’ of Yugoslav rock’n’roll operated as a non-adversarial, and constructive, critical questioning of existing practices of the country’s officialdom. Regarding the first difference, whereas the rebellion of British punk was rooted in the feeling that ‘there’s no future’ and the social polarization along the well established class lines, the initial acts of rebellion in the ‘new wave’ of Yugoslav rock-music came from the middle-class youth’s feeling of boredom and emptiness, caused essentially by the lack of appropriate, if any, urban cultural happenings to which urban youth could meaningfully relate. As observed in one of the early articles on the movement:

> We don't have neighborhoods with social minorities in the state of heavy disintegration, as found in some Western metropoles. We don't have their feeling of utter nothingness, but we often have a feeling of emptiness - not the nihilistic or the destructive one, but some strange passive emptiness. There is a feeling that everything is passive, that everything is easy, that there is

> `nothing and no thing going on[.] (unsigned 1978b: 19)`

In other words, the existing — in the context of 'Punk-infested' Yugoslavia — simply did not work for the new generation. At the same time, the official cultural infrastructure, still operating under the formulas of early socialism and its understanding of cultural sphere, was incapable of providing adequate leadership and initiative in organizing meaningful cultural spaces/places for urban youth. The end result for the youth was resignation mixed with boredom which eventually culminated in an impulse to 'do something'[63]. Not surprisingly, some of the first songs of Yugoslav punk/*New Wave* — such as 'Lubljana je bulana' ('Ljubljana is sick'), 'Plastika' ('Plastic') and 'Dokolica' ('Idleness') — reflected this sense of estrangement, or passive emptiness, on the part of youth.

With respect to the relationship with the official society, whereas in England the prevailing attitude was that 'there is no future' in the society as it was functioning, which then translated into an adversarial attitude towards the mainstream institutional and organizational structures, the dominant sentiment in Yugoslavia was that there was a discrepancy between the proclaimed socio-political ideals and the reality of their realization, which translated not into an adversarial but an 'ameliorative' attitude of Yugoslav youth towards the society and its organizational and institutional frameworks. Thus, whereas England was faced with a countercultural opposition with a revolutionary disposition towards the establishment, Yugoslavia was experiencing a form of, fundamentally, affirmative constructive critique aimed at encouraging the realization and, thus, living up to the proclaimed ideals. Or, to put it differently, the British punk was 'despisingly against', while Yugoslav *New Wave* was 'qualifyingly for', the official society[64]. Hence, constructive criticism rather than destructive revolutionary practice. Or as Nikolić (1981d: 55) observes in relation to Yugoslav punk:

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[63] Jasenko Houra, leader of *Prljavo kazalište* (*Dirty Theater*), observes that this feeling of alienation came from, not depravation, but, in a sense, plentitude of having all of your needs taken care of. Thus, the essential question — in a situation where urban environments were offering very little in a way of entertainment spaces/places — became 'what to do with ourselves?', i.e. how to deal with the sense of boredom, emptiness and alienation.

[64] Vejnović (1985: 348) thus writes: "The basis for distinguishing adversary from constructive social engagement is an attitude towards foundational societal values, institutions of the political system of socialist self-management and other constitutional aspects of free citizen organization."

> Punk is music based in rhythm, aggressive singing, short numbers, engaged lyrics. ... The lyrics may or may not be political in content. ... If the lyrics of some punk bands were political, they were engaged and pointed rightly to some weaknesses in the society. The aim of the bands was not to tear down our social system or anything like that.

The same sentiment was expressed by Goran Lisica who declares that the "[*New Wave*] is in no way a potential tearer of the system but an expression of youth's striving for authenticity and honesty in the way it expresses itself" (Lisica in Nikolić 1982e: 43).

It is important to keep in mind here that the constructive critique of the 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll rarely aimed at the 'grand themes' of Yugoslav society (such as political dynamics, economic issues, etc.) but, for the most part, remained at the level of registering everyday experiences of ordinary people, and youth in particular. If larger issues and themes became an issue, they were problematized only insofar as they bore upon the living and personal destinies of ordinary people. It is precisely because of this that those who openly confronted the inadequacies of the grand aspects of Yugoslav society (Branimir Štulić[65] and Bora Đorđević[66] being the most notable examples here) became so prominent and esteemed in

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[65] Despite his avowed Marxist worldview, Branimir Štulić gained a reputation of an authentic urban messiah and political voice of dissent who went further than anyone before (or after) and spoke the unspeakable in a manner that was terse, direct and uncompromising. Yet in Štulić's view the reason that he and others were able to be critical and speak for their generation has to do with the changing nature of the society itself. As he puts it:

> The way I see it, [the changing nature of things] is not a matter of rock'n'roll alone but, I repeat, of an entire democratization of the society. ... Who speaks the people's mind? Only rock'n'roll — it is the only expression of people. ... But all of it wouldn't exist if it were not a component part of the overall democratization of society. One cannot consider music outside of its societal context. (Štulić in Nikolić 1982d: 75)

Thus Štulić's 'revolution in thought' is in effect a consequence of the 'actually existing revolutionization of society itself' and, as such, a critical reflection thereof. In this sense, all of Štulić's 'radical pamphleteering' is a voice 'for' rather than 'against' — the voice that affirms rather than negates as it critiques.

[66] According to the conventional popular-cultural wisdom, Bora Đorđević and his band *Riblja čorba* (*Fish Stew*) were not of course — despite temporal coincidence — part of *New Wave*, but were a phenomenon onto itself. The argument usually put forth is that the Belgrade stream of *New Wave* built itself as a negation of and distanciation from Đorđević's undeniably effective urban poetics and the brand of rock'n'roll patented by his band. I will engage with this argument in the following chapter.

Yugoslavia's popular cultural collective consciousness — because they were indeed rare and anomalous.

Despite the differences, however, the 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock-music and British punk shared a crucial commonality of a 'philosophical attitude', grounded in an understanding of music as a substantive socio-cultural *praxis*. The essence of this attitude is the belief that music can and ought to be used as a cultural weapon in the struggle for self-affirmation, articulation of social presence, and critical engagement with the society's socio-cultural, political, and economic realities; its ultimate aim is the revolutionization of oneself, one's surroundings, and the structures of one's existence.

'Music of Commitment': The Philosophy of Rock'n'roll *Praxis*

The radically new understanding that substantively reoriented Yugoslav rock'n'roll was grounded in the view that rock-music is a socio-cultural *praxis*, i.e. a cultural force with social consequences and implications. This involved an attitude that performing rock is not simply a matter of 'doing a job' but is also a substantive engagement[67] with, and attitude towards, the world in both specific and most general sense. Thus to be a rocker implied projecting, or minimally having an awareness of, a particular 'philosophical substance' emanating through one's music. In practical terms, this equaled to a recognition that one can say something through a song and that that song is about (if not for) something and as such is a reflection of one's understanding of and disposition towards the world. In a perhaps a somewhat idealistic sense, this also implied a belief that music can 'change the world', i.e. that music as a cultural form has the potency to be socially consequential and to 'move things'. Goran Bregović's statement is more than illustrative in this regard:

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[67] The notion of 'engaged music' (*angažovana muzika*) relates directly to Sarte's existentialist notion of 'literature of commitment' (*littérature engagée*) and the idea of artist's serious responsibility to society (see Sartre 2002). In Sartre's view, 'literature of commitment' is predicated on the artist adapting freely made choices to socially useful ends, and defining himself by consciously engaging in willed action. 'Engaged art', thus, is freely chosen artistic endeavor predicated on serious commitment to society and responsibility to audience; its ultimate objective is social usefulness rather than 'artistic self-involvement'. In Sartre's view, 'art of commitment' is the polar opposite of the bourgeois art for art's sake. In the context of Yugoslavia's (popular-) cultural scene, Sartre's idea of 'engaged art' permeates all spheres of critical and artistic (self-)evaluation as the ultimate normative yardstick for distinguishing 'true art (and music)' from 'inconsequential artistic drivel'.

> Punk has moved things. Look, I do not play punk, but they think precisely the same thing I do — that being a musician is really something without too much sense or reason. Being a musician is a matter of trade, and we are not tradesmen. We are trying to change the world, understand? Because living with this whole thing for so long is very difficult if you are not ready, no matter how naïvely and childishly, to believe that you are changing the world with your song; otherwise we would have never become what we are today and live the way we do, but would have a long time ago become engineers or doctors … and do a more civilized job. What I mean to say is that playing music as such is not a matter of art but a manufacture … And they [the punks] have shaken things up precisely they were not solely music-players. (Bregović in Ćirović 1978: 35)

The same sentiment is expressed by the leaders of Slovenia's most important punk band *Pankrti* (*The Bastards*) some years after Bregović:

> *Pankrti*, like the partisan songs or *The Clash* masterpiece "Spanish Bombs", remind us that revolution is not a purely Marxist definition but also a FEELING that, with its richness and multi-layerness, rises above the one-dimensional sensibility of commemorative parades with recitals.[68] (in Lisica 1981c: 14, original capitalization)

Thus to be real, rock music has to be about something and, especially, stand for something. In other words, it has to have substance, it has to be substantive.

Foundational for the substantive turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll was the new 'philosophical principle' about rock-music having to be about something and something important (in other words, having to engage and be engaged with the world), and, moreover, speaking to the status and condition of particular categories of individuals in the society. As Zoran Predin, the leader and singer of the Slovenian band *Lačni Franc* (*Hungry Franz*), puts it:

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[68] In this context, the fundamental problem with Yugoslav rock, according to *Pankrti*'s Grega Tomc, is the fact that none of the bands went 'all the way' — i.e. said all that is on their mind and that needs to be said — because of 'auto-censorship' (conscious or unconscious) as a consequence of 'actually and objectively existing censorship'. Thus, the problem of Yugoslav rock'n'roll, from this viewpoint, is 'incompleteness of thought', leaving, in a substantive sense, much to be desired. In a word, Yugoslav rock'n'roll is not all it could and ought to be: yes, it does reflect on things and on the societal state of being but the nature of that reflection is mutedly critical and insufficiently explicit. To, for example, make explicit that "boredom is not a state of being but a reflection, manifestation, of a situation" (Tomc in Lisica 1981c: 15) requires an explicit freedom of thought and directness of expression, still semi-occurrence in Yugoslav rock'n'roll.

> You know, once we talked to some policemen and they asked us why we don't sing about love?! They said, 'you are young people, sing about love!' As if we don't have our own problems! We not only have problems, but we wish to speak about them and to solve them! Who better to know what my problems are than myself?[69]
> [...]
> I really believe that rock'n'roll is not most suitable for expressing love; there are much more fitting forms. Rock'n'roll is forceful and strong and ought to be used for transmitting messages far more important than the ones about love. (Predin in Trifunović 1981d: 16, 7)

Jura Stublić, the leader of Zagreb's *Film*, underscores Predin's point by observing the following:

> Rock'n'roll is the most significant phenomenon in Yugoslavia. ... Rock'n'roll is a message. People appreciate most the message that communicates something to them; the music that means something to them, the one they can identify with and the one with which they have common points of reference. That is the principle of identification, identification with the message.[70] (Stublić in Nikolić 1981m: 38)

Ultimately, rock at its most potent and socially consequential ought to be a matter of engagement with society, or — to borrow from Marx — a form of socio-cultural *praxis*. In the view of the members of *Paraf*, "engagement, if you want a first-hand definition, is an attempt to change things for the better[, while] anarchism is tearing down the old, without however a prospect for building the new" (Paraf in

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[69] For Rijeka's *New Wave* band *Paraf*, however, the matter is slightly different:

> Firstly, we are speaking about some of our problems to the extent that those exist, and they do. In that regard, we are purely narcistic. We are not speaking about the nation's problems, but about ourselves, about our mental and material state of being. And secondly, none of us does, or is willing to, claim that we offer solutions. It is dumb to expect such a thing from music or from art in general. (Paraf in Ogurlić 1981: 38)

Thus, for *Paraf*, the aim of engagement with the world through music is purely descriptive rather than prescriptive.

[70] In Stublić's view, the music that *Film* makes is in the 'rhythm of the compressor', i.e. of a decidedly urban orientation and with messages speaking to the character of the urban. At the same time, however, the music, although reflecting urban experiences and engaging with the society from the viewpoint of the centre, is not limited only to urban perceptions and can reach and be appreciated by the youth in the periphery. In other words, its message, and the 'principle of identification', is universal by virtue of being 'trans-urban'.

Ogurlić 1981: 37). Thus, rock'n'roll as a form of social *praxis* is a constructive, rather than destructive, engagement with the world that — rather than 'anarchically against' but 'engagingly for' — aims at revolutionizing oneself, one's surroundings, and the structures of one's existence. As pointed out by *Lačni Franc*'s Zoran Predin, however, the end-point of engagement through rock'n'roll ought to be understood as an articulation of particular sentiment(s) through lyrics and music rather than as a direct and systematic alteration of things:

> I think that [rock-music and rock-musicians] can always be only a provocation, an incident that will allude to some form of alternative. I think that rock'n'roll would never want that sort of power of being able to change some things systematically. Rock can influence feelings, and feelings are the movers of force. (Predin in Cicović 1986: 14)

From this viewpoint, therefore, the *praxis* of rock'n'roll rests on the ability to deliberate about the world through 'reflexive awareness' about it rather than to act upon the world unmediatedly.

In addition to the new understanding of rock'n'roll as a form of socio-cultural engagement, the substantive turn also inaugurated a new type of self-awareness about an engaged musician as the incarnation of the substantiveness of music of commitment. The musician was now seen not as entertainer but as a 'public intellectual' of a sort who, through personal attitude and active relationship to his social surrounding, embodied the very same stance projected through his music. The coupling of the notions of engaged music and engaged musician (or artist) was premised on an 'ethical dictum' that the substantive music required an artist of substance, and the substantiveness of the latter was, in the final instance, a measure of the substantiveness of the former. The (possibility of) the existence of one, thus, was predicated on the (necessity of the) existence of the other.

This new artistic self-awareness has several important aspects. The first foundational element is a particular 'philosophy of life' rooted in a specific form of intellectual *praxis*. In simple terms, this is equivalent to the notion that in order to be able to say something of substance, and therefore something consequential, one has to develop and possess a certain kind of intellectual awareness and cognizance. As the singer of Zagreb's *Haustor* (*The Hallway*), Darko Rundek, puts it:

> I think that what is important in rock is a question of education. And here I don't necessarily have in mind some school, or diploma. One has to be engaged with that which is called, for the lack of a better word, culture: one has to know about theater, about film, about literature, so as to be able to do any kind of music competently. (in Janjatović 1981: 19)

Engaged music, in other words, requires a conscientized individual — one capable of immersing in the world in an enlightened and intellectually astute manner.

The second aspect involved is nonconformity which essentially (and in the context of artistic engagement) implies a 'new approach to things', or unconventional form of thought and perception, grounded in individuality unburdened by social conventions (and therefore often perceived as 'deviant'). As Jura Stublić explains,

> nonconformists think differently, not logically, or conventionally[.] Look at the history of Western civilization: it is the nonconformists that have given the greatest contribution to our culture and its development, from science and technology, to art and economy. And that's because they always discovered previously unknown solutions. A lot of people think that only criminals and crazies are deviant. But the process of inventing something new, something that comes from within oneself, is an act of deviance insofar as you are different and are making something that was never made before and is not yet accepted. It is only later, when things are in groove and when people accept them, that this thing becomes part of them (in Trifunović 1981i: 30).

Nonconformity, then, (especially in art) is a form of intellectual avant-garde that seeks to go beyond the established and illuminate the hidden (or the non-obvious) by making it transparent. In doing so, it endeavors to contribute constructively to the advancement the manifold manifestations and incarnations of the real. Its most valuable quality, therefore, is the ability to see the world-as-it-is in a new and different light, and to offer a vision of the world-yet-to-come.

The third, possibly the most radical, aspect of the new artistic self-awareness is the presence of a critical standpoint as the grounding for thought and understanding, and as an anchorage for engagement with the world. Or, as Branimir Štulić puts it,

> the way one positions oneself, the way one looks at things, is

> very important: whether one has a critical stance, Marxist or some other. … Whether one is dialectical or materialist, or neither — that's the thing. … Only that is a guarantee, in the same as practice is a guarantee - not that which I say, but that which I do. (in Vukojević 1981b: 49)

For Štulić, then, the essential expression of an engaged artist is *praxis* of a sort, i.e. a form of action grounded in a particular critical disposition towards the social. As such, artistic engagement, in his view, ought to be reflected in the reality of one's living, or else it loses all of its substantiveness[71]. A further implication here is a 'permanency of engagement', i.e. an engaged *Weltanschauung* towards everything. For Štulić (and he is rather categorical here) one cannot be engaged selectively — one is either engaged or not. As a *praxis* of life, thus, engagement permeates all spheres of one's existence.

The new artistic self-awareness inaugurated with the substantive turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll brings to the fore a new type of artist-intellectual who understands the world, is immersed in it, and acts actively and consciously upon it. The engaged music, in this context, is an 'artistic weapon of choice' employed as a 'rebellion against the moulds', bursting forth with new forms of original thought (on this, see Pajkić and Vukojević 1981: 19)

In addition to instituting a new understanding of music and a new form of artistic self-awareness, the substantive turn was important on a larger cultural plane for providing the grounding point for an emerging analytical discourse about the essence of rock'n'roll[72], offered by a 'new wave' — or, rather, 'first wave'[73] — of

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[71] Štulić here approximates quite closely Sartre's notion that 'existence precedes essence', i.e. the idea that one's 'being in the world' emanates from one's practical engagement with that world. This engagement ultimately shapes everything about one. The way one acts, ultimately, defines who one is, and the nature of one's actions is, in the final instance, a matter of conscious and freely made choices: 'I act, therefore I am' (see Sartre 1989).

[72] Running parallel with the notion of 'true' rock'n'roll as an authentic form of popular cultural expression is an idea of the duality between 'true' music (or art) and 'estrada'. In fact, the two are highly interconnected and feed off each other. In the *conscience collectif* of Yugoslav popular-cultural authorities, in order to qualify as such, an authentic — and thus true — rock'n'roll expression ought to be diametrically opposed to, and removed from, anything that 'reeks' of 'estrada' and/or 'estradization' of cultural form or expression (on 'estradization', see footnote 34). Thus, an artistic form that is part of 'estrada' can only be regarded as "artistic", or pseudo-artistic, for it is empty, shallow, and non-substantial. Ditto for the artists identified with 'estrada': lacking authenticity and sincerity they are "artists" as much as their "art" is artistic — that is to say, not much if at all. Being a true artist, or true rock'n'roller, means exuding authenticity by not giving in to the pressures of 'estradization'. In this context, keeping your music real and true means not

Yugoslav rock-critics. In the first systematic treatise on punk penned by one of the most eminent rock-critics at the time, Darko Glavan, rock'n'roll is defined in the following manner:

> Rock will never be the pure, absolute music in search of its own "artistic" self-awareness; rock is without a doubt a reflection of dilemmas of contemporary highly industrialized urban settings and societies. Rock is indeed the 'sound of the city' and its formation is possible only in the class society. I don't think it's an exaggeration to suggest that the development of rock was stimulated by certain social dynamics of class, ethnic or racial confrontations. …
>
> I am deeply convinced that rock is most forceful when an author focuses on what he says rather than on the form used to express that which is being said. [R]ock is primarily a medium of eruption of collective consciousness rather than of formal individual examinations. Punk rock is perhaps the best example one can find. (Glavan 1980b: 12)

Glavan's in many respects Sartrean definitional understanding of the essence of rock'n'roll reflects the general popular-cultural sentiment about rock-music as societally-engaged and reflexive form of socio-cultural *praxis* aimed at dealing with the collective social experiences (be they 'normal' or 'pathological'). As one can extrapolate from Galvan's definition, it is precisely the 'collective-pathological' — or, better yet, the 'pathologization of the collective' — that stands as the 'prime mover' of rock'n'roll's social *praxis*.

The further implication of Glavan's definition is the notion of rock'n'roll as fundamentally *alternative* social *praxis*, i.e. as the form of engagement standing in opposition to the conformist values of the cultural mainstream. This point is developed in somewhat more detail by Aleksandar Žikić who writes:

> By "alternative" — in relation to rock'n'roll … — one ought to understand an exploratory aspect of engagement with an emphasis on seeking and isolating inordinate and extreme elements and on deconstructing the established patterns and constructing the new forms, or on offering the new contents within the already existing formal frameworks. Differently from the pure challenge

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catering to mass audience and mass media, not polishing your artistic form, and not emptying the content of your music — in other words, being, 'raw', non-calculating and meaningful.

[73] The substantive turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll was instrumental in establishing the very first generation of rock-critics and in inaugurating rock criticism as viable form of public-cultural reflection on (popular) culture in general and (rock) music in particular.

> and mere provocation, alternative engagement contains within itself a certain degree of premeditation, organization and conscience about its position, although the role of the instinctive and the spontaneous (the two most important things in rock in general) cannot be in the least neglected. (Žikić 1985b: 26)

Rock'n'roll as an alternative social *praxis*, thus, is alternative only insofar as it confronts the mainstream in a thoughtful and constructive fashion, seeking to problematize and change its existing patterns of cultural practice — change them because of the uniformity of thought and experience they exact. Thus alternative *praxis* is a struggle, or rebellion, against the unfreedom of the existing and a search for the freedom of the yet non-existing. Its constructiveness has to do with the rectitude that underlies it, without which "any rebellion is brought down to the level of vulgar quarrel with the establishment" and its "violent uniformity of thought" (Žikić 1985b: 26). For Žikić, therefore, rock'n'roll as an alternative *praxis*[74] is a constructive rebellion in search for the new, aiming to construct the yet non-existing forms of cultural being in the world and in doing so open up new venues for personal and collective freedom. In this sense,

> [t]he essence of the alternative has to do much more with building rather than tearing down, although — as punk has demonstrated forcefully — it is impossible to separate one from the other.(Žikić 1985b: 26)

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[74] In Todorović's view, the fact that one needs to emphasize the alternative in rock'n'roll is an indication that, as a cultural form and practice, rock-music is part of the cultural establishment, or mainstream. More to the point, Todorović argues that alternative rock'n'roll is a form of cultural practice separate and independent from the mainstream rock-music:

> The alternative in rock does not mean reacting against the existing but walking one's own path from the very beginning. It only appears that what one has is a great river with the tributaries; in essence, however, these are all parallel streams. (Todorović 1985b: 31)

As Todorović sees it, in the context of rock-music as a cultural practice, alternative rock'n'roll is important for two reasons: purely musical (or aesthetic-performative) and sociological. In terms of the former, "the alternatives bring back to rock the spirit of pioneer explorations, or a healthy feeling of happening" (Todorović 1985b: 31); in terms of the latter, the practice of alternative rock'n'roll reincarnates the purported essence of rock'n'roll experience — unmediated and intimate synergy of the artist and the audience rooted in a mutual two-way flow of energy. In other words, alternative rock'n'roll puts a mirror in front of the mainstream rock'n'roll so it can reflect upon itself, and in doing so keeps the *idea* of the essence of rock'n'roll alive. Alternative rock'n'roll, performatively and sociologically, is a constant reminder of what rock'n'roll, 'once upon a time, in another lifetime', was, or claimed to be. It is, in a sense, the 'promise of rock'n'roll', reincarnated and reanimated.

Žikić's meditations on rock-music underscore the fundamental point shared by all involved in it (that is, musicians and critics) — namely, that the *praxis* of rock'n'roll is not a subversive but a progressively affirmative engagement with the social fabric it is woven into.[75] If it destroys, it does so as to (re)build rather than to annihilate. And that is what is essential about it: "it means a positive change which includes the corresponding identificational basis" (Žikić 1985b: 27). The (perhaps key) question in here — one that Žikić does not address — is the moment in which the alternative through the successful mass-appeal of its new 'identificational basis' becomes the establishment, the moment in which the alternative moves from the cultural margins to the center. Does it then become yet another, albeit new, cultural pattern in search of conformity?[76]

The Substantive Turn: A Résumé

In many important respects, the Yugoslav popular-cultural landscape of the mid-to-late 1970's went through a radical revolution in 'thought and practice'. Its essence was a fundamental redrawing of artistic 'cognitive maps' and a reframing of rock'n'roll as a form of substantive engagement with one's personal and collective being in the world, and as a means of negotiating one's relationship with one's social surroundings — in a word, a reconfiguration of rock'n'roll as a socio-cultural *praxis*. For all practical purposes, rock'n'roll's substantive turn was a breaking point in the history of a particular form of popular-cultural experience and the beginning of a radically new popular-cultural direction in Yugoslav society.

In the most immediate sense, the centrality of the substantive turn had to do with it offering a new and powerful socio-cultural means for addressing the youth's condition of 'absent presence' in Yugoslav society. The new understanding of the essence of rock-music and its potential translated into an awareness that it is possible to make a stand and communicate to the society one's thoughts and feelings about one's socio-cultural position, or lack thereof. The substantive reorientation of Yugoslav rock'n'roll thus proved to be a strategic cultural weapon in youth's emancipation from the confines of its own societally-sanctioned 'prison of socio-cultural invisibility'. Its armament was radically new poetics of the present and the preoccupation with the real, the local, and, ultimately, the patriotic of one's individual and collective being in the world.

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[75] In this context, *White Button*'s Goran Bregović observes that 'not one local rock'n'roll lyrics is against politics but is only partially politicized in a desire to contribute to a solution in a manner available to people in this profession'.

[76] On this, see Kremer (1985f).

In a larger societal-cultural sense, the substantive turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll was important for broadening the horizons of Yugoslavia's cultural experience by legitimizing popular-cultural expression as a viable means of adding to the cultural fabric of the country. This addition, in turn, proved to be critical important for the vitality of culture in general for it not only offered new forms of cultural expression but it also contributed to its reinvention through the potency of popular-cultural critical reflection. What the Yugoslav model of new socialist culture gained with rock'n'roll's substantive turn was the ability to step outside itself and reflect on the nature of its foundational parameters and general practices from the viewpoint of a 'sympathetic outsider' with a keen and observant insight. Through the *praxis* of rock'n'roll, in other words, new socialist culture was provided with the valuable means of cultural checks and balances and with a constant reminder of both its essential nature and — perhaps more importantly — the shortcomings in its own application. As odd as it may sound, Yugoslav rock'n'roll in particular and Yugoslav youth culture in general were perhaps the only socio-cultural outlets through which the official society could, if it wished to, get a perceptive and disinterested view of itself. And, if taken with the right attitude, that certainly was something to be valued.

The end of this chapter concludes the prelude to the analysis of the three music movements that, each through its particular socio-cultural *praxis*, offered Yugoslav society a (possibility of) looking-glass reflection into its very own socio-cultural self, not in an attempt to undermine it but in an effort to aid the unfolding of its full self-awareness: *New Wave* did this through the poetics of the real and the thematization and critique of the urban in Yugoslav socio-cultural experience; *New Primitives* did this through the 'poetic of the local' and the preoccupation with the autochthon and its socio-cultural standing within the Yugoslav cultural project; and

New Partisans did this through the poetics of the patriotic and the central concern with reanimating the very principles of Yugoslavia's cultural defining and political (re)design(ation). Together, through their explorations of the 'underworlds' of Yugoslav new socialist culture and the problems that were, as the 1980's were drawing to a close, (in)directly eroding its very foundations, they stood as the critical reminders of the country's once proclaimed intent of realizing the ideal of genuine socialist-humanist community — a society 'in the true measure of man'.

CHAPTER 5

The *New Wave*: 'In the Rhythm of the Compressor'

The focus of Chapter 4 was the substantive turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll. The chapter's principal argument was that the period of mid-to-late 1970's stands as the breaking point in the history of Yugoslav rock-music and as the time of a fundamental transformation of rock's dominant form from a 'substance of style' to a 'style of substance'. The crux of rock'n'roll's 'qualitative great leap forward' was inauguration of the new artistic awareness, centered around the radically new understanding of rock-music as a form of socio-cultural *praxis*, and of rock-musician as an artist-intellectual substantively engaged with, and actively committed to, the world. Important, in this context, was the emergence of the new and distinct rock'n'roll poetics oriented towards communication that is unmediated and truthful — i.e. with meaning and message, aiming at the real, the present, and the immediate. The initial form of this new rock-sensibility was embodied in the *New Wave*'s poetics of the real, followed by the *New Primitives*' poetics of the local and, finally, the *New Partisans*' poetics of the patriotic. Common to all three was understanding of rock'n'roll as music of commitment that, at its finest, aimed at opening up the socio-cultural horizons of (re)examining, (re)questioning, and (re)evaluating society's established cultural, political and — to a somewhat lesser degree — economic foundations.

What I want to do in this chapter is to take a detailed look at *New Wave* and its poetics of the real as the first incarnation of Yugoslav rock'n'roll's substantive turn. I will do this by considering three principal *New Wave* rock-scenes and examining the way in which each particularized the new understanding of rock'n'roll as 'style of substance' and, through this, offered its unique thematization and critique of the urban in Yugoslav socio-cultural experience. I will start my analysis with the Slovenian punk-rock scene as the very first local embodiment of the new rock'n'roll ethos, and consider its specificities in terms of three foundational elements: (1) punk essentialism, (2) media independence, and (3) linguistic distinctiveness. Thereafter, I will focus on the most important punk-rock band to emerge out of the Slovenian punk-rock scene — Ljubljana's *Pankrti* — and discuss their musical-ideological platform in terms of its uniqueness and impact on Yugoslav *New Wave*. In doing this, I will argue that Slovenian punk played an indispensable role in introducing the new rock'n'roll ethos to Yugoslav rock-scene and setting the framework of the new understanding of rock'n'roll as music of commitment. In many respects, therefore, the Slovenian punk-scene in general and the work of *Pankrti* in particular can be considered as the catalyst for Yugoslav *New Wave* revolution in rock-music and in its relationship to the society.

After discussing the Slovenian punk-rock scene, I will turn to Zagreb and its own rock'n'roll circuit. The starting point of the analysis will be a consideration of two infrastructural forces — the magazine *Polet* and Youth Clubs — that had a significant impact on the defining, development and vitality of Zagreb's *New Wave* as a fundamentally urban expression and experience of local youth (culture). In this context, I will focus particularly on the importance of *Polet*'s new journalistic sensibility as a central precursory force in the articulation of the new urban spirit as a socio-cultural foundation for the local *New Wave* rock-scene. Thereafter, I will consider the four most important Zagreb rock-bands — *Prljavo kazalište*, *Film*, *Azra*, and *Haustor* — in terms of their individual contributions to the new mode of *New*

Wave thought and expressions which prioritized the urban as an anchoring for one's individual and collective experience and for one's connection to the 'world out there'. In this, I will pay particular attention to the ways each band used the new-found poetics of the real as a way of offering a direct and unmediated reflection on the socio-cultural, and political, realities of everyday life, and, in doing so, put to practice the notion of rock'n'roll as the music of commitment — i.e. a form of substantive engagement with oneself and one's social surroundings. In the process, I will argue that Zagreb *New Wave* was critically important in offering the first full-fledged articulation of urban identity and urban experience as embodiments of the new form of understanding Yugoslav youth as an agency with a distinct socio-cultural profile and location in society, and youth culture as its unique popular-cultural expression.

Finally, the last part of Chapter 5 will be devoted to the Belgrade rock-scene and its unique contributions to the overall character of Yugoslav *New Wave*. After considering specific local infrastructural problems that hindered development of the 'new wave' of Belgrade rock'n'roll, I will discuss the impact of the local rock-band *Riblja čorba* on infusing the dormant rock'n'roll circuit with the new poetics of the real and, in doing so, effectively kick-starting its revival and revitalization, prefiguring what would become the local incarnation of the *New Wave* phenomenon. I will then look at the three most important Belgrade *New Wave* rock-bands — *Šarlo akrobata*, *Električni orgazam*, and *Idoli* — and discuss their unique ways of thematizing and problematizing the central preoccupation of Yugoslav *New Wave* — the urban and its ramifications for individual and collective socio-cultural experience. In particular, I will focus on the 'new artism' as the common aesthetic-expressive moment of all three bands and explore the ways in which it opened up a new 'window of perception' into the nature of the covert and, at times, the coercive in the relationship between the individual/collective understanding(s) of the self and the particular incarnation(s) of living *milieu* that informed them. Throughout, I will argue that the unique conceptual-stylistic fundamentals of Belgrade *New Wave* rock-scene gave the poetics of the real a broader exploratory scope and enabled it to (re)conceptualize and (re)consider the urban through the new artistic lens of stylized reflexivity.

In exploring the nature and different executions of Yugoslav *New Wave* my aim is to substantiate the general claim made in Chapter 4 — namely, that rock'n'roll's substantive turn represents a point-of-no-return for Yugoslav rock-music and a moment in which (to borrow from Rajin) the consciousness of rock'n'roll is transformed into rock'n'roll itself. Also, it is to demonstrate the instrumental importance of *New Wave* (as an initial embodiment of the new understanding of rock'n'roll as music of commitment) in forging a qualitatively new relationship between Yugoslavia's official society and youth as an active(ly engaged) socio-cultural agency (with)in Yugoslav socialist community.

With all of this in mind, let me begin with examining the specificities of *New Wave*'s principal rock-scenes.

New Wave*: Scenes and Scenarios*

To consider the sociology of Yugoslav *New Wave* scene implies, by necessity, the process of differentiation and specification, i.e. an analytical look at particular urban locales that nursed and supported particular 'urban vibes' and, in one way or another, had some sort of infrastructural design that enabled the affirmation of *New Wave* music and bands. The first point of this process is the recognition that, fundamentally, *New Wave* was an *urban* phenomenon which took roots in the most urban *milieux* of Yugoslav society, namely Ljubljana, Rijeka, Novi Sad, Zagreb, and Belgrade. The second point of importance is the fact that each of these urban *milieux* had its own specific dynamics of living which gave each scene a somewhat unique flavor and generated somewhat different understandings about the essence of *New Wave*. This, in turn, resulted in different (i.e. locally specific) rock'n'roll *praxis*. Finally, the third point of importance has to do with the interconnections between these distinct *New Wave* scenes. Although, as just noted, each had its on local specificity resulting in a somewhat different 'theory and *praxis*' of *New Wave* rock, the scenes were nevertheless connected and in communication with one another in several important ways. Firstly, the connection between the scenes was evident in the 'philosophical and stylistic' influences among them in that the happenings and developments in one locale inevitably had an impact on what took place elsewhere (the primary geographical direction of causality was Northwest-to-Southeast). Secondly, the Northwest-to-Southeast communication was evident in the feedback effect between different scenes, whereby the influence one scene had on the others would reverberate back to its point of origin in the form of an attitude, opinion, or understanding which, in one way or another, would shape the course of future development within the given scene. And thirdly, the interconnectedness was evident in the fact that none of the scenes saw itself as autonomous, even it unquestionably distinct, but as a component-element of a larger Yugoslav 'new wave' cultural space. This was evident in the fact that the sphere of influence of all major *New Wave* bands reached, from the respective local scenes, well beyond their urban locales and extended — for some more, for some less so — nation-wide (or, perhaps, 'urban-nation-wide').

As already indicated, the *New Wave* scenes of primary importance were the ones in Ljubljana (Slovenia), Zagreb (Croatia), and Belgrade (Serbia). The Rijeka (Croatia) scene was, although important in some respects, clearly of semi-peripheral status and, as such, of secondary — or second-level — influence on the overall course of *New Wave* developments. The same, although even more acutely, applies to the Novi Sad (Vojvodina) scene, which was clearly a 'hinterland' of Yugoslav *New Wave*. Given this hierarchy, the analytical priority will be given here to the centers of *New Wave* — Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade — while the remaining two will enter the analysis only to the extent that they had a unique contribution to the overall dynamic of Yugoslav *New Wave*. I will now focus on these centers one by one, beginning with Ljubljana,

Ljubljana: Slovenian Punk Anarchy

As already noted, the primary direction of the rise, development and spread (and, therefore, influence) of Yugoslav *New Wave* was Northwest-to-Southeast, beginning in Yugoslavia's Western-most republic of Slovenia and eventually reaching the eastern shores of urban Serbia. In particular, the Slovenian capital of Ljubljana was the epicenter of initial *New Wave* developments and the first urban *milieu* to clearly draw the line and demarcate the point of differentiation between the urban and the non-urban, and thus establish itself as the very first Yugoslav *New Wave* scene and therefore the scene with the greatest level of influence on other, subsequently developing, *New Wave* urban settings.

There are several points of importance for dealing with the specifics of Ljubljana urban *milieu*, both in terms of its local uniqueness and the influence of other *New Wave* scenes: (1) punk essentialism; (2) the existence of independent media, and (3) linguistic distinctiveness. Punk essentialism refers to the fact that Ljubljana *New Wave* scene developed under the influence of European (and, especially, British) punk of the mid-1970's and that, for all practical purposes, Ljubljana saw itself as specifically the *punk* scene rather than anything else. In fact, the notion of *New Wave* was, at the time, the socio-cultural unknown both locally and abroad, and the concept as such would gain currency only in the late 1970's/early 1980's. This punk self-awareness had important consequences for Ljubljana's 'self-regard' and for its status outside the local urban context. Firstly, Ljubljana's attitude toward punk was much more orthodox (in the sense of 'punk-all-the-way' attitude) than on other scenes, which — given the tenuous and somewhat problematic relationship between Slovenian cultural officialdom and the new developments within the realm of youth culture — translated into a marginal, or subcultural, status of Ljubljana scene and into its relative isolation from the cultural mainstream. In Gall's assessment:

> the push towards the peripheral and towards the spheres of the subcultural turned Ljubljana's punk into an underground of a sort, which was burdened by the imperative of 'music in opposition', an aura of cult, and self-mystification. The consequence of this today is hermeticism within the firmly established frameworks of punk mannerism but also the extraordinary tie between the performers and their audience. (Gall 1981a: 46)

Put differently, punk essentialism and the marginality of Ljubljana's scene translated into a subcultural ghetto of the 'noisy minority' with its own internal dynamic and operational logic, distinct and separate from the rest of Slovenian (popular-) cultural discourse and practice. Far from being a commonly accepted/embraced development in the sphere of youth culture, the Slovenian punk scene was regarded by the Slovenian cultural mainstream as antithetical to the acceptable notions of 'good and proper youth', i.e. the youth 'on the right course' (see, for example, Laib

1985b).

Within the Ljubljana punk scene itself, the sense of 'ghettoization', on the one hand, and the self-mystification of 'alternative underground', on the other, generated, in a musical sense, a firmly entrenched sentiment of the resistance to any form of commercialism and dictates of mass appeal and acceptance. In this context, the taking of Ljubljana's punk as the only genuine, authentic and 'revolutionary' form of music *praxis* translated into hard-core puritanism and dogmatic orthodoxy with an adversary disposition towards everything reeking of 'selling out'[77] (see, for example, introductory remarks in Lisica 1981a).

Crucially important in the early reception of European punk in Slovenia and also in the affirmation of local punk bands were two local youth institutions: Radio-Študent and Student Cultural Center (ŠKUC). Controlled and operated locally and independently, Radio-Študent provided an alternative voice for Ljubljana's urban youth and was also an important source of information about the latest musical developments abroad. It addition, the station (and Igor Vidmar's program "Rock front" in particular) established itself as a ground for the promotion and support of local punk bands, as well as a public forum of a sort and a space for problematizing and refining the attitudes of punk ideologues in terms of punk's status and role *vis-à-vis* Slovenian cultural mainstream and society in general. The Student Cultural Center, on the other hand, was significant as an organizing force beyond most (if not all) local punk concerts and as such of pivotal importance in making Ljubljana's punk-scene a part of (trans-) local *conscience collectif.* The cumulative effect of the existence of these two infrastructural support systems was a popular-cultural level of media independence unparalleled in other parts of the country. As observed by Polimac:

> Ljubljana's Student Cultural Center, or ŠKUC, is yet another thing that Ljubljana's students have and Zagreb's don't (as well as, for example, Radio-Študent). Formed in 1971, the intention of its initiators was to promote and support, in an organized manner, what one may call subculture and counterculture, and to

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[77] An extreme example of this is recounted by Gall (1981a: 46): "at *Idoli*'s Ljubljana concerts, the darlings of BAS (Belgrade Alternative Scene) were not only showered with shouts of "Faggots!", "You sold out!" and "Commercial pussies!", but were literally spat at and showered with rotten eggs. *Šarlo akrobata* concert was similar, but now the provocation and spitting were mutually exchanged mutually."

> provide the existing opposition to elite culture with an opportunity of transforming theoretical contestation into a practical one. (Polimac 1978: 11)

This avant-garde role and mission of ŠKUC was, in essence, a legacy of the Slovenian version of the Spring of 1968 and the events surrounding the student movement at Ljubljana university in the late 1960's/early 1970's (for an overview of Slovenian student movement and résumé of its main phases, see Bašković et al. 1983f). Fundamentally, "ŠKUC wanted to establish a cultural alternative to the so-called institutionalized civic culture and to unmask the canonized culture which, in the name of the working class, only perpetuates the existing class relations and, in effect, struggles for the interests of the cultural elites" (unsigned 1978o: 11). The same can be said about Radio-Študent which was formed in 1969 "because of the need for a more intensive informing of students and because of students' increased politicization, evidenced particularly in 1968" (Pučnik in Bakalović 1978b: 14). Over time, this avant-garde role of Radio-Študent matured into providing an alternative voice for the Ljubljana's student body, and particularly its more active and involved segment, and in this — directly or indirectly — perhaps an infant-model for 'alternative journalism' in all major urban centers of Yugoslavia. Important to note here is that the 'alternative mandate' of Radio-Študent and ŠKUC did not imply an adversarial attitude towards the established social system and society in general but rather a critical force *within* both. As put somewhat humbly by Andrej Drapal, one of Radio-Študent's key people at the time,

> We are nothing special, not an opposition to the system - as some would like to present us - but an opposition to the negative tendencies in politics and society. … Alternative journalism is not outside of our general public broadcasting system; it ought not and should not act as an opposition to someone or something. Of course, there is a better, more engaged, more open journalism, and I think that RS' [Radio-Študent's] goal of informing the public is grounded in these principles. (in Tasić 1985e: 59)

The third essential element informing the overall character of Ljubljana punk-scene, linguistic distinctiveness, had to do with the fact that Slovenian, rather than Serbo-Croatian, was the 'linguistic weapon' of Slovenia's 'punk anarchy'. In addition to reflecting the reality of Slovenian being the language of the majority in Yugoslavia's Western-most republic, 'sticking to one's own linguistic tradition' gave the scene an added note of genuine hard-core authenticity.[78] It reflected the local state of youth consciousness in a local idiom and was therefore true to the essence of punk-philosophy — namely, the idea that punk-music was an unmediated expression of the realities of a marginal(ized) community in whose name it spoke loudly and clearly. The linguistic distinctiveness, however, made the Ljubljana punk scene more hermetic in relation to the rest of Yugoslavia's rising tide of new rock-consciousness and, in a sense, limited the potency of its impact and the scope of its influence. The fact of the matter was that most of what Slovenian punks had to say through their lyrics either escaped the non-Slovenian audiences completely or was delivered to them indirectly, in translation. Even though they could clearly identify with the raw energy of punk music, when it came to making a connection with the message, they were in the dark. This linguistic disconnect was reflected upon most prominently in Momčilo Rajin's highly appreciative review of Ljubljana's *Pankrti* debut record, *Dolgcajt*, where he writes:

> I, like the rest of my editorial-staff colleagues, do not speak Slovenian well enough, and that is a big handicap in listening and analyzing this, but not only this, record. Thus we are in a bit of a paradoxical situation — often times we understand Anglo-American acts better than our own. … (Even if we knew the language well enough, the problem would still remain because most things were written in a local jargon, so, in terms of the handicap, it helps that I was in possession of a few translated songs). (Rajin 1980e: 52)

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[78] According to Article 246 of the 1974 Constitution of SFR Yugoslavia, "the languages and scripts of all nations and nationalities have equal status. Thus in the Socialist and Federative Republic of Yugoslavia all languages of the nations are in official use; the languages of the nationalities are in use according to this constitution and the federal law" (n/a 1974). From the legal point of view, therefore, there was no one single official language; the languages of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities were given status of the official languages of Yugoslavia. Despite formal equality of all languages, however, Serbo-Croatian, by virtue of being spoken by the majority of people, was the most widespread language in the country. The use of Slovenian was limited to Slovenia (where it was spoken by about 90% of the inhabitants of the republic, known as Slovenes) and to the parts of Yugoslavia outside of Slovenia populated by Slovene minorities. For the most part, Slovenian language was incomprehensible to most other citizens of Yugoslavia who, unfortunately, very seldom took it upon themselves — or were indeed encouraged by the educational system — to learn other official languages of the country.

With his observation, Rajin pointed to the essence of what made the Slovenian punk scene so autochthon and, at the same time, so autochthonously esoteric.

Summing up the legacy of Ljubljana's punk-scene[79] in the context of the popular-cultural consciousness of Slovenian (and, by extension, Yugoslav) youth, Tasić (1984a: 14) brings up three key achievements: (1) the development of critical thought *vis-à-vis* democratization of society; (2) the reflection of a need to overcome the barriers in the development of socialism, erected by the reactionary social forces monopolizing the position of political power; (3) the protection of the boundaries of true (engaged) rock-culture against the forceful tide of the 'primitive and sleazy' music conformism of the mainstream 'estrada'. In Tasić's estimation, Slovenian punk had fundamentally positive, progressive, and affirmative (in a political sense) impact on the society's socio-cultural outlook. Its most important legacy was the patenting of punk-rebellion as an attitude of constructive affirmation whose fundamental objective was the mobilization of progressive social forces (within urban youth population) in the struggle for the proclaimed ideals of Yugoslav socialist community. And this will be of great significance for the development of Yugoslav *New Wave* and beyond.

Ljubljana's *Pankrti*, more so than any other band, was *the* incarnation Slovenian punk essence and its precursory influence on Yugoslav rock'n'roll.

Pankrti: The Slovenian 'Bastards'

Formed in the late summer of 1977, Ljubljana's *Pankrti* (*Bastards*) were by far the most important and influential band to emerge from the Slovenian punk-scene. One can make an argument, without the slightest exaggeration, that *Pankrti* introduced punk music to Yugoslavia and influenced more-or-less directly most of what happened in Yugoslav *New Wave*, especially in its early developmental stage. Inaugurating punk, *Pankrti* introduced a radically new sound and attitude to a whole generation of young and aspiring musicians who, in some fashion or another, either took it over or built their own music *Weltanschauung* in the echo of *Pankrti*'s 'punk-*blitzkrieg*'. *Pankrti*'s *oeuvre* was, simply, the groundbreaking stuff of legend on many significant fronts. Momčilo Rajin's reflection on *Pankrti*'s seminal influence on the birth of Belgrade *New Wave* scene is especially illustrative in this respect:

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[79] In Tasić's view, the emergence of Slovenia's *Laibach* and *Neue Slovenishe Kunst* movement which, in the early 1980's, developed around the band's artistic *praxis* of 'politicization of sound' (effectively enunciated in the following statement: "Laibach ... does not use art to talk about politics; it, rather, uses the language of politics to speak about art" (Wruss 1985d: 28)) represents the beginning of an end of punk as the primary alternative force within the Slovenian rock-culture (on Laibach Kunst, see Tasić 1983).

> perhaps everything begun in the fall of 1977 when, as part of a *Three days of Slovenian culture* program, we had the first encounter between the Belgrade people and that which was called punk. The first night, in front of the surprised and bewildered Belgrade public which was reclining in the comfortable chairs of the big hall, *Pankrti* were performing the songs of *Sex Pistols*. (in Grujičić 2001b: 31)

With their performance in Belgrade *Pankrti* offered something radically new and previously unseen and unheard — the form of music and performance style that would leave a permanent imprint on the cultural consciousness of Belgrade rock-enthusiasts and would change irrevocably the contours and the essence of the local rock circuit.

At the time of *Pankrti*'s beginnings, punk music was for the most part the 'great unknown' within Yugoslavia's popular culture. Apart from the highly specialized radio programs that sampled punk to a fairly small and selected local audience (Igor Vidmar's "Rock front" on Radio-Študent being a significant example), punk music was not played on major local radio stations (to say nothing of the state-controlled TV programming). It was also met with silence by the country's main popular press (which simply did not have any interest in, or understanding of, it) and if mentioned, on a more than rare occasion, the tone was, as if by rule, dismissive, derisive and/or confrontational[80]. As far as the mainstream cultural consciousness was concerned, punk music, or punk philosophy, might as well have not existed. It was as simple as that. Predominantly, punk music was something exotic imported to Yugoslavia through the selected few local enthusiasts and privileged youth who had an opportunity to travel to London, experience it first-hand, and bring back the 'vinyl records' thereof.[81]

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[80] Punk's contentious relationship with Slovenia's (and more broadly Yugoslav) mainstream media peaked with the so-called 'punk-Nazi affair', centered around a group of a few underage teenagers who called themselves '4 R' (interpreted to stand for the 'fourth Reich') (for an overview and more specific aspects of the affair, see, Laib 1985b).

Titled "Ljubljana je bulana" ("Ljubljana is sick"), *Pankrti*'s first single — all 2,000 copies — was released by ŠKUC's music production. It was the first officially available record of punk-rock's existence in Slovenia and Yugoslavia and the first provisional blueprint of what was to become the distinct poetic of *New Wave* — poetic of the real, i.e. the mode of expression that, using minimalist music and a direct, open and 'situational' mode of expression, spoke about the here and the now from the viewpoint of a youth-centered perspective. The band's first LP record "Dolgcajt" ("Boredom") expanded on the statement made on the first single (i.e. 'there was something wrong with Ljubljana as an urban *milieu*') and offered a full treatment of the urban youth's most pervasive problem — that of a consuming sense of having nothing to do and of being, in consequence, alienatedly bored. As Lovšin puts it (in Krasavac 1980: 21), "this record is a reflection of youth's general sentiment — the feeling [of passive emptiness] that debilitates". From *Pankrti*'s viewpoint, the main problem of urban youth was the absence of an outlet for channeling their youthful energy and the lack of youth-oriented infrastructural support.

On their second record "Državni ljubimci" ("The State's Darlings")[82] *Pankrti* moved away from the terrain of a strictly youth problems and took up the more general and more potentially controversial subject of politics, or more to the point, political *praxis*. Although critical in its overall tone, the band's treatment of the problem of politics, however, was grounded in an affirmative (pro)position that politics was one of essential forms of soci(et)al *praxis* and, as such, was crucial to the well-being of society as a political community. As Lovšin puts it (in Avis 1982: 15):

> We love the state but think that politics should not be over society and something reserved only for certain social structures. We want to break away from the traditional understanding of politics and offer an idealist vision that politics is not above us and that, in a sense, all of us ought to be politicians as much as we are peasants, or workers …

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[81] Importing records from abroad privately was the principal — if not the only — means of gaining exposure to punk music in Yugoslavia, as none of the major record companies ever published any punk recordings until well after punk died and became 'old news'.

[82] The album's title is *Pankrti*'s comment on receiving the state-sanctioned award 'Sedam Sekretara SKOJ-a' ('Seven Secretaries of the Union of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia') as the best young rock-band, for their first record "Dolgcajt".

For *Pankrti*, then, the problem of politics in Yugoslav society was the problem of utilization of its political *praxis* and, in this, its separation from the social base. In this context, to attack (or rebel against) politics was not to attack (or rebel against) society as such, but to point out the problems of political society while maintaining an affirmative disposition towards it. For, as Lovšin puts it (in Krasavac 1980: 21), to be critical (or engaged) with one's music does not mean being destructively predisposed against one's society. Critical engagement implies "not being quiet" and involves "dealing with problems that touch you as a member of a community".

As the follow-up to "Državni ljubimci", "Rdeči album" ("Red Album") continued *Pankrti*'s direct, critical, and engaged 'confrontation' with the problems of Yugoslav society (through the prism of Slovenian political realities), but now even more broadly and more concretely. With the "Rdeči album" *Pankrti* offered a critical assessment of the country's general state of being, concretized in the juxtaposition of the proclaimed socio-political idea(l)s and the specific socio-political realities of the socialist society in *praxis*. The conceptual centerpiece of the record, *Pankrti*'s rendition of the Italian Communist classic "Bandiera Rossa" ("The Red Flag") set the overall approach to the problematic at hand. The song, an ode to the force of populist Communism (and to the effective power of people's political might), was used by the band as a critical reminder of what Yugoslav socialist society proclaims in theory as its ultimate ideal and what it, in practice, essentially lacks — a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. In the context of *Pankrti*'s political project, thus, "Bandiera Rossa", according to Lovšin (in G. 1985: 15), stood as "the song of the working class not in the position of power". As such, it was a powerful testament to the chasm between 'what is' and 'what ought to be'.

On a more specific political plane, *Pankrti*'s "Rdeči album" was important because it offered the band's most explicit programmatic statement and position on political *praxis* in the form of the "Manifesto of Real Romanticism", which insisted on "the world of real individualism that would, within the framework dictated by the destiny of one's time and place, enable everyone to recognize one's own trueness" (Lisica 1984b: 26). According to Lovšin (in Lisica 1984b: 27), the Manifesto's fundamental premise and purpose was to advocate a "variant of [socialist] self-management", conceptualized as a "peripheral derivation" of the Bakuninian-type traditional anarchism[83], whose principal standpoint was individual and individual freedom. As explained by *Pankrti*s Grega Tomc:

> The Manifesto's starting premise is fairly clear. The individual and his freedom is the positive; the negative is everything that stands in the way of the realization of individual freedom. As such, it needs to be restrained. I feel that in the state of real-existing socialism the individual accounts for very little; there is always insistence on the masses, history and some sort of long-term goals. The Manifesto, on the other hand, insists on what's here and now, and what is in the interest of individual and his freedom. (Tomc in Lisica 1984b: 27)

Similarly to "Bandiera Rossa", the Manifesto put forth by *Pankrti* was a 'strategic critical device' used to gauge the real against the proclaimed (or the ideal). As such, it was best read as a contemporary understanding and (an attempt at) application of the fundamental Marxian notion of the 'withering away of the sate' and, by extension, of the (progressive historical) elimination of everything institutional that obstructed the full realization of (both individual and collective) human freedom at the stage of 'actually existing communism'. Understood properly, the latter was but the highest (and purest) form of socialist self-management (i.e. management of the self undertaken freely without the oppressive force of externally imposed institutional frameworks) of the kind idealized, but not realized, by the Yugoslav state, in the name of society which it was supposed to represent. Again, as with "Bandiera Rossa", *Pankrti*s "Manifesto of Real Romanticism" pointed to the inauthenticity of the 'actually-existing political *praxis*' which, rather than working towards removing institutional obstacles that impeded the full realization of the proclaimed principles of socialist self-management, generated the opposite effect of their multiplication. *Pankrti*s position was that Yugoslav political *praxis* ultimately worked against the foundational principles of Yugoslav society and that, as a politically engaged group, the band could not be quiet but had to speak out and take a critical stand. Being critical, however, was oriented towards rather than against the 'actually existing society' and was, as such, fundamentally constructive rather than destructive. Or as Lovšin puts it, underscoring the same point made in relation to *Pankrti*'s political engagement on the band's previous record "Državni ljubimci", "what's crucial is that we are working against the enemies of true self-management" (in Lisica 1984b: 27).

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[83] In their 'theses on punk', Lovšin and Tomc posit, in relation of Bakunin, that "the main point of punk is not, as Bakunin thought, anarchy but the withering away of state-regulated media"; and, more generally that "philosophers have only interpreted punk, in various ways; the point, however, is to play the hell out of it" (in Grujić 1984e: 26).

In the late days of his band's career, Pero Lovšin would sum up *Pankrti*'s political engagement — and, indirectly, the legacy of Slovenian punk — in the following way:

> it is certain that in 1977-1978, when we were making our first record, we were burdened by different things, both on a personal and broader plane. We were students[84] then, tearing things down; today we work to build things. In a way, in those days we felt — to put it in Marx's dialectical terms — a great deal of boredom for non-material reasons, while now we feel bored purely for material, productive reasons. The first record was our early phase; now we are in the mature phase of a sort. It is perhaps because of this that our last record is titled "The Songs of Reconciliation".[85] (Lovšin in Grim 1985b: 12)

This 'movement in thought and action' — i.e. the transformation in the nature of Slovenian punk-rock *praxis* — was something that was reflected in the Yugoslav *New Wave* and, through a variety of direct and indirect forces of influence, in the movements of *New Primitives* and *New Partisans* . I will develop this thesis in more detail in the chapters that follow.

Zagreb: 'Sound of the Urban'

At the time of the initial developments within Slovenian punk-scene, Zagreb's rock-scene was anything but that. Its mainstream force was *Parni valjak* (*The Steam Roller*), the band whose rock poetics were firmly grounded in the pre-punk music-aesthetic sensibilities and who were, for all practical purposes, the only constantly active and present Zagreb rock band. The other important name was *Group 220*, which was the first local band with a cult status of a sort and the band which inaugurated the urban 'new wave' sensitivity. However, the band had been defunct since the early 1970's and its leader Drago Mlinarec, although musically active, presented his solo-projects with varying degree of success and acceptance. Of course, young and unestablished bands did exist and work, but their activity was limited to narrowly confined pockets of Zagreb's urban locale and they lacked both a clear sense of vision and 'music stamina'. So much so that in his 1978 article Darko Glavan writes that 'at the moment, there is really no rock band in Zagreb that could be recommended wholeheartedly to a record company' (Glavan 1978c: 30).

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[84] Four out of five members of the early formation of *Pankrti* were students: two were studying political science, one philosophy, and Pero Lovšin (band's leader and one of the lyricists) journalism and sociology (his graduating work was titled "Pornography: A Social Category"). The fifth member was fully employed.

[85] According to Lovšin "The Songs of Reconciliation" also echoes a particular political moment in the Slovenian political life — in particular, the debate on whether to give an active political voice to people who were on the Quisling side during World War II (see Lovšin's remark in Janjatović 1985a: 45). The sense of reconciliation advocated by *Pankrti* in a way approximates the philosophy of 'truth and reconciliation' undertaken in South Africa after the fall of Apartheid. In terms of developments within Yugoslav rock, it also anticipates the key aspects of the philosophical attitude underlying perhaps most important record of *New Partisans* movement — *Bijelo dugme*'s "Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo" ("Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia").

Crucial for the rise of the Zagreb rock-scene in the late 1970's was the confluence of two infrastructural developments: the 'second coming' of magazine *Polet* (*Élan*) under a new editorial and journalistic team, and the creation of local Youth Clubs. Not insignificantly, both were under the auspices of local socialist bodies — i.e. organizations in charge of animating urban youth according to, ideally, the principles of socialist societal engagement. *Polet*, as the official newspaper outlet of the Alliance of Socialist Youth of Croatia, was sponsored and financed by the Alliance of Socialist Youth's Center for Social Activity (locally known as CDD, or *centar za društvenu djelatnost*); Youth Clubs, as we shall see shortly, were in one way or another affiliated with some sort of Youth organization, which was in turn affiliated with some sort of an official socialist organization body (dedicated to youth).

Polet was undoubtedly the key media outlet for the shaping and support of the Zagreb *New Wave* scene. Based on the stylistic template of Andy Warhol's *Interview*, the magazine projected itself from its very inception as the voice of the new generation of urban youth and the chronicler of the new urban spirit of Zagreb. The idea underlying the editorial policy of the new team of journalists and artists was that *Polet*s principal intent was to be the magazine of youth rather than a magazine for youth. This meant that everything about it, content- and style-wise, had to reflect the realities and the actual lived experiences of the people whose lives the magazine chronicled. This, this in turn, meant that the real issues of the real youth would be at the forefront of *Polet*s reporting, and that these will be presented in a manner that truthfully, without unnecessary jargonistic interventions, reflects youth's linguistic, stylistic, and cultural sensibilities. This new publishing philosophy is effectively summarized by Vlatko Fras in the first issue of the revamped magazine, published in the late October of 1976:

> I wish for youth journalism to descend to Earth and land firmly on its own feet. Primarily, this means to start dealing with subjects of real interest to us, the matters we get excited, or angry, about... We ought to write in the way one was scared to write before: freshly, with zest, investigatively, and even mistakenly. Sometimes a grand mistake can be more productive than a small success... Thus - *Polet*!
>
> *Polet* is here to reveal how it ought to be and then to follow it through.
>
> Because *Polet* is here to show — there are those of us who are not afraid! (Fras 1976b: 3)

Essentially, *Polet*s mission was to convey the spirit of the new urban youth, the youth not afraid of being daringly young.[86] Its premises were 'honesty in thought' and 'straightforwardness in expression'.

In a more specific sense, three principal aspects of *Polet*s 'new journalistic sensibility' were: (1) the introduction of direct and unpolished language of the street as a default mode of written expression, (2) the inauguration of 'new photography', and (3) the new regard for the comic strip. On a linguistic plane, the magazine was committed to using the unpolished language of youth as its signature journalistic style, and to addressing its readers using their own way of expressing themselves. To the average reader the magazine certainly read as somewhat coarse in style (using swearwords in the articles, for example, was not all that unusual), but to the intended readership — the urban and forward-thinking youth — the magazine rang true, fresh, and in tune with times. As such, it read as the *de facto* authentication of the popular cultural consciousness of the 'new Zagreb'.

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[86] In stark contrast to Fras' 'manifesto', *Polet's* official line — advocated by, presumably, its financial and ideological parent the Alliance of Socialist Youth — reads as follows:

> Youth newspaper *Polet* ought to create in youth a habit of openly reacting to general social problems and positions presented in public life. In this, the constant concern ought to be the realization of a long-term socialist politics of enriching our society with new material, cultural, and scientific values. (unsigned 1978i: 51)

In addition to introducing the new journalistic language and sensibility *Polet* also inaugurated a new visual aesthetic propagated through the photographic materials it published (eventually dubbed as '*Polet*s school of photography'). Its principal intent was doing away with the abstract and bringing in the real through the documentary depictions of real faces, real situations, and real bodies without any editorial, or 'artistic', interventions. In this sense, *Polet*s visual style consciously complemented the authenticity of the magazine's linguistic style. Reflecting on one particular aspect of *Polet*s 'new photography' Timotijević (1983: 55) writes: The obligatory black frame was not a cynical 'in-memoriam' prank but the proof that the photo was published the way it was taken, in its entirety".

The third aspect of *Polet*s new journalistic sensibility — a radically new regard for the comic strip — aimed at introducing the new understanding and appreciation of the 'ninth art', premised on the revolutionary youth spirit of the spring of 1968 (and, in Croatian context, 1971) and the desire for social animation and societal provocation. According to Igor Kordej (in Stošić 1988: 35), its essence was 'post-revolutionism' — that is, "the desire to be in the function of something that no longer exists" — as a form of 'spiritual and intellectual (re)awakening'. In this context, comic strip-as-art functioned as a strategic device used to elevate the form from its childish connotations and move it towards the realm of serious adult form of expression with conscience.

Centrally important for *Polet*s reorientation of the cultural and intellectual understanding of comics as an art form was *Novi kvadrat* (*New Square*) — a group of authors whose working philosophy was grounded in the notion that 'comics are a serious form of art to be taken seriously'. Reflecting on the *Novi kvadrat*s working philosophy, Ljubomir Kijakić (in Ilić 1976: 14) observes:

> It is not necessary to build comics on the premise of direct engagement. The engagement is possible from the viewpoint of an alternative 'conception' of visual sensibility. I think that the past few years ... we have the case of going beyond that rather traditional, classical and conservative, regard for the comics, which still dominates and which is (since the mid-sixties) the only existing with our authors. I think that [*Novi kvadrat*] offered the concept of new visualization, reflection, and play

> within the framework of the medium and that [it] did it rather successfully.

For Prvčić, the importance of *Novi kvadrat* and its 'alternative conception of visual sensibility' rested in the radical transformation of comics into a form of engaged artistic expression with the purpose of stimulating rather than entertaining and of animating rather than disengaging. As he writes (Prvčić 1978: 16):

> Comics are no longer a relaxing stream of images with a naïve narrative where — dipped in a warm solution of one-dimensional deceptions — the "better" win, and which, after we read it, leaves us in a blissful sleep. Nor is it a shabby and ugly duck of whom we are embarrassed in some intellectual company[.] These guys [from *Novi kvadrat*] have shown us once again that if you know what you wish to say, the medium is not important. They have, within the medium of comics, condensed into a drop an entire attitude towards life, and their 'comic game' is not content with partial devotion but requires it of them fully and completely, and necessitates that the childhood chimera continues as a heavy nightmare.

The overall effect of *Polet*s new journalistic sensibility was a radically new type of magazine that offered an authentic and engaged approach to the realities of urban life and culture from a 'youth-centered' viewpoint, and that — in documenting these — acted as their catalyst as much as their chronicler. The magazine's pivotal role as both the brain and the voice of Zagreb's *New Wave* was perhaps the best example of this. Not only was *Polet* responsible for defining the contours of the 'new wave' of Zagreb rock through its consistent reporting and promotion of the young and completely anonymous rock bands (thus creating the sense that 'something's going on'[87]), but, once the local rock-scene actually developed into something substantive, the magazine was also instrumental in documenting 'everything *New Wave*' and, in this, providing an outlet for its 'trans-local' exposure and validation. Without exaggerating in the least, one can make a claim that (the idea of) Zagreb's *New Wave* was the brainchild of *Polet*, and that without the magazine it is very questionable if this new urban rock-scene would exist at all, or — if it would — if it would have the contours that it ended up having.

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[87] Two key events that publicly announced something new on the Zagreb rock-scene were the concert in support of an exhibit of *Novi kvadrat* artist Mirko Ilić in the late 1977, and the rock concert in the late 1978 featuring — in addition to Skoplje's *Leb i sol* as the main attraction — the 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll: Rijeka's *Parafi*, Ljubljana's *Pankrti*, and Zagreb's *Prljavo kazalište* and *Azra*. Both events were sponsored/organized by *Polet*.

As already noted, important for the initial development and affirmation of Zagreb's rock-scene was the existence of several Youth Clubs (*omladinski klubovi*) around the city, which provided places for the local bands to hone their performance skills and present their music to a local audience on a more-or-less regular basis. Most of the Clubs were run by, or were under the auspices of, the Youth Organization[88] and/or the Student Center, with some operated by the private sector.[89] Central for Zagreb's *New Wave* were the clubs of the former kind, primarily because they operated according to the principle of 'general social usefulness' and 'public service' for urban youth, in the context of which financial profitability was generally of marginal importance. Unburdened by the commercial pressures, the clubs' populist-egalitarian attitude in the matters of culture and entertainment (free or symbolic-fee entrance; non-selective entrance policy, non-alcoholic environment) provided an ideal social setting for young local bands to present their music to the groups of like-minded peers, and — if proven worthy of attention — build a reputation and following. The fact that the clubs were sprawled around town meant that the bands could circulate from one place to another and perform on an almost nightly basis without too much pressure and/or competition. The possibility of frequent and repeated performances, and the existence of loyal and constantly present audience, generated the feeling of a rock-scene and a sensation that something new and exciting was going on.[90] In a relatively short period of time, and primarily because of *Polet*s devoted and enthusiastic coverage of the happenings at the local clubs, Zagreb's *New Wave* scene became the stuff of legend (attracting first the curious from far and wide and subsequently the bands from other parts of the country) and made Zagreb the 'new rock capital'. Dragan Kremer's reflections after his first 'pilgrimage' to 'Yugoslav rock-Mecca' are illustrative in this regard:

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[88] In 1978, "Lapidarij" was the only Youth Club in Zagreb sponsored by the Alliance of Socialist Youth. At the time, the plans were under way to open the second Youth Club "Josip Kulušić", which will become one of the central places in later developments of Zagreb's *New Wave* (on Kulušić and its general mandate as a Youth Club, see Jakuš 1978a).

[89] According to Pavlović's inventory of Youth Clubs in Zagreb (Pavlović 1980), the city had three clubs under the auspices of the Youth Organization ("Lapidarij", under the Centre for Cultural Activity of Youth; KSET, run by the Youth Organization of Zagreb University's faculty of electro-technical engineering; and "Jabuka", located in Zagreb's community of Jabukovac). In addition, there were the clubs ran by the "Student Center" — Club "Student Center" and Student Cultural Center — geared towards university youth. Finally, there were about seven or eight private clubs.

[90] According to Semenčić (1980b), crucial in the rise of the Zagreb local rock-scene were two local clubs, "Lapidarij" and "Klub SC" (Club "Student Center"). Initially "Lapidarij" was geared towards jazz performances and it was only in October of 1978 that the policy of Wednesday rock-concerts was first introduced (see Semenčić 1979i). Around the same time (October 1978), "Klub SC" introduced its own Friday rock-concerts program. Dubbed as "The Third Line" the program provided a space for public performances for Zagreb's and non-Zagreb's established and more-or-less unknown rock bands (see Semenčić 1979i).

> Zagreb has a club scene — the Student Center, SKUC, Kulušić (oriented primarily towards jazz performances, most notably those of Boško Petrović with a quartet or big band) and, of course, "Lapidarij". It is , therefore, not accidental that Zagreb generates the most in terms of *New Wave*. There has to be the material base[.] The greatest sore spot of our rock continues to be the unbridged chasm between the basement and garage used as a practicing space by a band and the big concert arena suitable only for those with big hit-records. It is because of this that we have so many bad single- and long-play debut releases. It is a matter of the stillborns of the wrong path in development. It is necessary to create the possibilities for performances in front of people, for gaining and testing the necessary experience. Zagreb has a club scene. (Kremer 1981g: 31)

In Kremer's view, therefore, the existence of an active and vibrant local club scene was an absolute-must for the development of rock'n'roll in general, and was, in the final analysis, the key ingredient that propelled the Zagreb's *New Wave* takeoff.

'Something's Goin' On!': 'Theatrical Dirt' of Zagreb's *New Wave*

One of the key arguments made in the previous chapter was that the *New Wave* not only represented a qualitative 'great leap forward' in the demarginalization of Yugoslav rock'n'roll and its credentialization as a legitimate popular-cultural expression, but that it also posed a fundamental challenge to the escapist sensibilities of the 'old rock'n'roll' through an introduction of the fundamentally new artistic (and intellectual) sensibility of poetics of the real. The essence of this new poetics was the focus on the world-as-it-actually-exists and the concern with the immediate, the tangible and the consequential, expressed directly and without unnecessary stylistic and linguistic flourishes. As we have seen, in the context of Slovenian punk-scene as the precursor and instigator of the Yugoslav *New Wave*, poetics of the real found its most potent expression in the music of Ljubljana's

Pankrti and the themes of youth's condition of debilitating alienation, on one hand, and the problems of the political *praxis* of Yugoslav society, on the other. In many respects, these will provide the general parameters for the broad range of *New Wave*'s thematic preoccupations.

In the context of Zagreb's *New Wave* the initial formulation of the new poetics of the real was offered by Dubrava's[91] *Prljavo kazalište* (*Dirty Theater*). Formed in 1976, the band was the first to enunciate the coming of Zagreb's 'new wave' of urban rock sensibility. Although hailed by the local youth media and progressive rock critics as the first incarnation of local punk-rock, the band's leader Jasenko Houra was quick to point out that *Prljavo kazalište* had very little, if anything, to do with the British wave of punk and that the only musical influence he was ready to acknowledge was the classic rock'n'roll sound of *The Rolling Stones*[92]. Nonetheless, the band was embraced as the first authentic expression of the new punk-rock spirit and the first incarnation of new rock'n'roll sensibility. As Semenčić and Fras put it in the preface to the band's first big interview:

> Without a doubt, *Prljavo kazalište* is up to this point our most authentic street rockers. It is precisely that unpremeditated sensibility-of-the-street vibe you can feel in their slang, their nervous gait, and — a bit — on their record that fascinated and convinced us. They are truly from Dubrava where, as they say, there is nothing but bars where knives are flashed and chains are hurled quite often, and where there is only one movie theater. In that suburb, where most of the working class of our city lives, and where the countryside refugees arrive daily (and they really do arrive only to Dubrava), the only

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[91] In *Prljavo kazalište*'s case the specificity of locale is significant as a type of identification which denotes a particular attitude and a specific 'worldview', taken by the band as the focal point of their thinking, feeling, and understanding. Crucial in the 'Dubrava' designation is the fact that it is a working-class suburban area of Zagreb which has a peripheral cultural and socio-economic status *vis-à-vis* the 'metropolis'. As such, it has a vintage point of a 'peripheral stranger' with a somewhat tenuous relationship to its 'big cousin' and therefore an attitude of rebellion and defiance.

[92] As Houra puts it:

> When *Kazalište* first started, sometime in 1976, the first real punk bands appeared world-wide. Interestingly, though, those bands had no impact on us in the beginning which I think was, and remains, the biggest plus for the band … because up until today no influence whatsoever can be detected. Perhaps the only influence on us, i.e. on me as the band's author, were *The Rolling Stones*, and only musically - in terms of setting up the songs[.] But I don't think we had any real role-models to pull us their way, and that, in the end, we did it all freely and by ourselves. (Houra in Rajin 1980b: 8)

Thus, in Houra's view the coincidence between his band and punk-rock was only temporal.

> party, event, culture, and attraction is *Prljavo kazalište*. The rowdy Dubrava, without sewage system or building permits, identifies with the band, cheers for it, dances and has a great time at their concerts. This (for our circumstances) unique status of the band indicates that we are dealing with a cultural phenomenon which ought not be gauged simplistically as "these guys are worthy" or "these guys are not worthy". (Semenčić and Fras 1978b: 20)

In Semenčić and Fras' view, thus, *Prljavo kazalište* is about much more than music; it is about the new rock'n'roll sensibility grounded in authentic and unmediated projection of the real, of true life- and social circumstances, enunciated from the viewpoint of a new youth generation firmly rooted therein.

Hailed in 1980 as "one of the best debut (and perhaps non-debut) records until now" (Vukojević 1980: 45) *Prljavo kazalište*'s self-titled release effectively (and in hindsight) freed Yugoslav rock'n'roll from the confines of the mainstream entertainment industry's escapist formulas and offered a new, direct and uncompromising, rock'n'roll language. Its essence was open and honest interrogation of the thoughts and obsessions of youth using its language and mode(s) of expression, and their placement within the context of socio-cultural, economic, and political realities of specific (i.e. real) urban locale. As Rajin and Vukojević (1979: 14) put it:

> With their brief and tight rock composition and their open and uncompromising engagement focused on our *milieu* and problems, [*Prljavo kazalište*] has created an authentic alternative to established forms of our entertainment industry and even to rock'n'roll itself. Touching very openly upon things such as nepotism and corruption, alcoholism, love, sex, and violence ... they have created an important precedent. The most interesting thing is that Jasenko Houra, the author of all their songs, has managed to escape the tired confessional tone [and,] without phraseology or generalities[,] speak with plain words (and expertly insert irony when required) about things on his mind. All of this leaves an impression of spontaneous declarations unburdened by excessive premeditations.

Fundamentally, *Prljavo kazalište* inaugurated a rock'n'roll poetic that was immediate, true, real, honest and direct, and, in doing so, established (or perhaps finally realized) rock-music as a relevant and authentic expression of youth culture. Before *Prljavo kazalište* Yugoslav rock-music operated at the level of an idea about rock'n'roll; with the band's first record, rock-music finally descended to the reality of rock'n'roll. Or, as Rajin (in Rajin and Vukojević 1979: 14) puts it, "*Prljavo kazalište* is not a consciousness about rock'n'roll but rock'n'roll itself".

According to Houra, "the first record was the Book, the ten commandments... *Prljavo kazalište* said everything at once in its first phase"[93] (in Nikolić 1982c: 67). In Houra's view, the band's first record is 'year zero' in the 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll and the dividing point between the 'old' and the 'new era'. The record completely shattered the old templates of rock'n'roll expression and introduced something completely new: the genuine spirit of rebellion. *Prljavo kazalište* was the first to, as the saying goes, 'walk the walk and talk to talk' — i.e. to speak about the real things in a real way without fear or calculation and do so using the language of the social *milieu* that inspired them and that they knew best[94] (for Houra's reflections, see Nikolić 1982c: 66). Or, as Vukmir (1983b: 21), puts it,

> *Prljavo kazalište*'s first LP is one of those rare records of domestic rock built on the genuine spirit of rebellion. It was a record of fear and rebellion — the fear of growing up and the rebellion against the surrounding, against errors of the system. ... The rebellion was spontaneous and unpremeditated, which perhaps is the reason it disappeared quite soon, much before the disappearance of its causes. Semantically, the rebellion was most clearly expressed graphically, with the cut up tongue — *The Rolling Stones* logo — as perhaps the most daring symbol of breaking away with the tradition. Musically, the same was emphasized through simplicity and almost-primitiveness of

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[93] Reflecting on the first record, the band's singer Davorin Bogović observes:

> In those days we were working furiously like mad because we had to release from within ourselves all that we felt. [The first record] was spittle with acid aftertaste in our mouth that we needed to spit out as soon as possible... People confess to their friends; we confessed to the kids of Yugoslavia. (Bogović in Bachrach 1981: 11)

And this form of confession by way of 'spitting out a spittle' was something fundamentally new and radical in the context of Yugoslav rock'n'roll and (popular) culture in general.

[94] Reflecting on his band's first record, Houra observes:

> At the time of working on my first record I was close to eighteen. Therefore, my consciousness about some social engagement couldn't have been fully formed. Simply, those were the things that interested me at that time. I was interested in why something is taboo, why there are things people do not talk about. ... I worked on that first record under the influence of a particular form of satire, that of Zagreb's theater "Jazavac". The first time I stumbled into that theater I was taken by their manner of speaking about problems. I was shocked by it — the way of thinking about politics, sex, and general relations between people. I couldn't read about it in newspapers or watch it on TV, so in time I began thinking that way. (Houra in Raić 1986a: 16)

> expression, and through the unavoidable — and, according to the established standards of the day, almost insulting — performative dilettantism.

For Houra, perhaps the most important aspect of the first record in particular and the band in general was the fact that it gave voice to a new generation of people from the viewpoint of that generation itself. As he puts it (in Nikolić 1982c: 65),

> I came from a generation that never really had its own music …There was always a generation that worked in the name of my generation — the older generation. There was never a case of someone playing to the generation they come from and belong to. Things are not all that much better today either. … There is no band in our rock'n'roll that comes from the lower class… I find it really bad when someone is projecting themselves falsely and saying: 'I am from a working-class neighborhood, I am from a working-class family, I am a working-class kid' … That is simply not the truth … I have lived with that generation and have gotten to know that mentality quite well. I have not worked in a factory but have figured out that way of life terribly well; I have been with the people that have been through all those things... That is it.

Thus, the significance of *Prljavo kazalište* in the context of Zagreb's *New Wave* rested not only in its inauguration of the new rock sensibility of poetics of the real but also in its articulation of the authenticity of expression grounded in generational and social conditions as the standpoint for thought, reflection, expression, and social engagement. On a broader socio-cultural plane, the importance of *Prljavo kazalište* and its debut record was in the final debunking of rock'n'roll in general and *New Wave* in particular as being an artificial grafting of foreign cultural influences onto the local cultural landscape. Before the band (and despite all the inroads made by *Bijelo dugme*), the Yugoslav cultural mainstream and its political officialdom had an ambivalently dismissive attitude towards the country's rock-music, taking it for a Western cultural fad of Yugoslav youth with an almost certain 'date of expiry'. After *Prljavo kazalište*'s first record, that attitude was shattered into a realization, even if still ambivalent, that Yugoslav rock'n'roll was indeed a *Yugoslav* phenomenon and that it was an authentic expression of youth experience, far from a passing cultural trend.

'In the Rhythm of the Compressor': *Film*'s Urban Mental Tourism

In addition to offering the direct and unmediated form of reflection on the realities of everyday life from the viewpoint of a population with a specific socio-cultural profile, the *New Wave*'s poetics of the real also inaugurated a mode of thought which prioritized the urban as the grounding for one's individual and collective experience, and for one's connection to the 'world out there'. The centrality of the city in the discourse of the poetics of the real is present perhaps most prominently in the music of *Film*, one of Zagreb's premiere *New Wave* bands. According to its leader Jura Stublić, the name of the band, taken more or less accidentally and without too much premeditation, is suggestive of the band's working philosophy and its artistic *praxis*, which is concerned with offering 'unmediated mental tourism'. Or, as Stublić puts it,

> We wish to describe the films — or 'trips' — of completely different people, keeping in the process authenticity of the experience, without using the method of a second-hand account. […] We wish to make the songs about the worker, the junky, the drunk — about different life situations and images. In the context of such a song, we wish to present, as genuinely as possible, a film that is distinct and without a lot of critical interventions. (Stublić in unsigned 1979b: 13)

Stublić reiterates the same point a few years later in an interview with Darko Glavan:

> Look, our point of departure is that we wish to be a people's band, a band broadly accepted within the domain appropriate for rock'n'roll, which is the urban environment. We do not hide that. Our thing can be accepted in the hinterland as well, but we speak from a position of people who live in a city and who perceive things from that perspective because that's where we are. Take a walk around Zagreb and tell me yourself where is *shepherd's flute*, where are the white lambs and white horses. There are simply none here, understand? They do not exist. I can put them in my songs because I do understand that they exist in the heads of my potential audience. But, let's be honest about the surroundings we are in: we in *Film* try to reflect out surroundings, to capture our *milieu* photographically in what we do. My task is to express what's going on in the heads and perceptions of the people in a setting our surroundings. Nothing I wrote is my invention — I am but a Polaroid of a sort, trying to be a thing that perceives, opens a shutter for the exposure, receives impressions and does his best to print them on a record. (Stublić in Glavan 1982: 31)

Therefore, *Film* is ultimately after painting a mosaic picture, or pictures, of the city by using its real-life protagonists and their unique experiences as a narrative springboard, and offering what is registered to its audiences as a series of films whose purpose is to convey, as sensuously as possible, the smells, sights, and sounds of a specific urban *milieu* (that of Zagreb) and, in doing so, enable them to experience (or 'visit') it with as little mediation as possible. In this context, *Film*'s 'mental tourism' is about the ability, on the part of audience, to experience the new and unknown through the medium of the band's musical story-telling.

In addition to providing an experience of (the possibility of) visiting, *Film*'s working philosophy of mental tourism is employed towards yet another purpose — escape. Just as real tourism, its cerebral variant is as much about bringing things closer as it is about awakening desire for the new, the previously (or still) non-existing, and, thus, about the ability to, as the line in one of the *Film*'s most popular songs from their debut record says it, 'imagine the life different from this one'[95]. In other words, the tourism offered by *Film* (just as tourism in general) is about both encounter *and* projection, about both experiencing *and* imagining the real (or, 'real'). On this aspect of *Film*'s music, Marković (1981h: 21) observes:

> One does realize that, for example, nightlife in Zagreb does not exist for the most part. Come night-time, the city is one huge and lethargic sleeping room offering very little of interest to

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[95] According to Stublić, *Film's* first record is a struggle against feeling down, against apathy and lethargy of the young generation, and a struggle for injecting the spirit of idealism and hopefulness. The band's retreat into the musical forms of the 1950's and early 1960's is a strategic device meant to convey the naïveté of the previous era, which according to Stublić was an epoch infused with positive energy and idealistic enthusiasm. *Film*'s debut album, therefore, is about projecting that attitude and the 'good vibrations' of the spirit of optimism:

> I think that a person without vision, that is, without a goal, is empty, dead. Our vision has to do with having an impact. I know the kind of world I want to live in, and I'd like to see that world realized before I die. The world I'm in does not suit me. … The world I see is nicer not only for me but for all others as well. This is what I do with my music: I feel good and I hope that people who come to our concert will feel good as well. I think that you can sense a fragment of the world we see at our shows. (Stublić in Marković 1981c: 16)

> a young person. Introducing the non-existing ideals, *Film* lucidly underscores the dullness, monotony and boredom inevitably felt by almost any young person in Zagreb in search of fun and amusement.

Thus Stublić's somewhat stylized manner of constructing and delivering 'mental images' *via* his lyrics is perhaps suggestive of his awareness that, no matter how unmediated, the urban experiences that emanate from his band's music are, of necessity, 'distorted' and contain an element of the 'unreal'. Or as Trifunović (1981i: 34) puts it: "Jura Stublik [sic], author of lyrics based on his own music (or the other way around), is too intelligent to treat serious things in a serious way, in a realist manner". In this context, Stublić's attitude of "I target the heart not the head; I don't want people to understand me, I want them to feel me" (in Marković 1981c: 16) is perhaps the best way to sum up the working *praxis* of his band, *Film*.

In its prioritization of the discourse of the urban , Stublić's brand of the poetics of the real is centered on not only mediating the city through the prism of 'mental tourism' but also on reflecting on, or exposing, the dark side of the city. On its second record *Zona sumraka* (*The Twilight Zone*), *Film* examines the darker, alienating, aspects of the here and now of urban life and environment, focusing on what Stublić calls "narcotic means, or the means of forgetting", from drug use to love (see Stublić in Glavan 1982). This focus on the underside of the urban is in line with Stublić's Polaroid-approach to his engagement with the city, which, while affirming and celebrating the urban, is also aware of its hidden and darker corners. As such, it is objective in its immediacy and honest in its aim and projection; to understand the city, Stublić proclaims on *Zona sumraka*, one needs to apprehend it fully and completely, in all of its complexities and incarnations.

In positing the city and urban experience as the center of its narrative discourse, *Film* constructs the poetics of urban cartography, whose expression is one of 'asphalt and concrete', and whose rhythm is one of the compressor. As Jura Stublić puts it,

> What we do stylistically resembles many different frameworks but I know that it come about not because I lived in New York but because I live in Zagreb. Zagreb, Belgrade, Ljubljana, Rijeka … are the cities, the urban environment, and I cannot now adopt folk music as our own. I really have nothing in common with the

> *shepherd's flute*! There are no *shepherd's flutes* here. There are cars, tramways, buildings, concrete — an entirely different outlook. Our music is rooted in the living in our city; that city has an impact on us, and everything we absorb is spat out in a manner we perceive it. (Stublić in Trifunović 1981i: 32)

On a larger socio-cultural plane, *Film's* poetics of 'asphalt, concrete and compressor' is suggestive of the new understanding of 'youth' as a marker of identity, which brakes away with the official generality of 'our youth' and articulates a new anchorage in the particularity of *urban* subjectivity. The centrally new dimension introduced, in this context, is the polarity of 'urban' vs. 'non-urban', meant to denote a differentiation between particular 'philosophies of living' rather than specific living locales (implied if the notion of 'rural' is to be used instead of 'non-urban'). To invoke the notion of urban youth, thus, is to invoke particular individual or collective *mentalitées* whose specificities are derived from an understanding of one's relationship to, and one's attitude towards, the urban, as embodies in the city as the center of one's connection with and grounding in the world.

Azra: 'Dissidents and Confidants — Power of the Street'

If *Prljavo kazalište* officially introduced the new rock sensibility of the poetics of the real onto the Zagreb rock-scene, and *Film* painted its unmistakably urban cartography, *Azra* was the band to give it the finest and supreme execution. Fronted by the charismatic Branimir 'Johnny' Štulić, *Azra* effectively sublimated the essence of the *New Wave* both as a form of music expression and, more importantly, as a distinct philosophical attitude. Not only did *Azra*'s poetics capture the multilayered complexities of the urban in all of its previously unexpressed subtleties, but with an uncompromising stance permeating both his songs and his public persona the band's leader opened a 'new intellectual window into the world' and, through it, effectively illuminated the essence of Sartre's notion of *praxis* of artistic engagement. Regarding the former, Kosović (1980b: 41) writes:

> [w]hile Bora Đorđević[96] shyly brings Yugoslav rock to the

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[96] The lead vocalist and leader of *Riblja čorba*, one of Belgrade's most important rock-bands. On *Riblja čorba*, see the section on Belgrade *New Wave*.

> outskirts of city, and *Prljavo kazalište* arrogantly entrenches it there, members of *Azra*, without any complexes, project themselves as the guys from the heart of the big city, taking as axiomatic that rock is urban music[.]

Todorović (1987: 28), on the other hand, sums up the spirit of Branimir Štulić in the following way:

> The history of engaged music in Yugoslavia surely doesn't begin with Johnny Štulić ... but no-one except him has been so successful in building an aura of a hunted uncompromising fighter. While Bora Đorđević went for a Ray-La-Mota style of the fighter receiving and returning punches in a life-or-death struggle, Štulić builds in his songs, with small strokes of a pen, an atmosphere of a very specific kind. It is almost possible to imagine Johnny making his records by firstly covering his tracks in front of the SSD [State Security Department], changing three cabs and two sets of attire, jumping the wall, and only then entering the studio.[97]

It is the symbiosis of the band's axiomatic rock'n'roll stance and Štulić's aura of a 'hunted uncompromising fighter' that makes *Azra*'s poetics of the real perhaps the most significant of the entire *New Wave*.[98]

In all crucial respects, *Azra*'s poetics of the real emanate from Štulić's own being in the world and his conscious or unconscious understanding of himself. What fuels his *Weltanschauung* and, through it, his 'perceptual lens' is an attitude (rooted in his biography of 'family on the move') of standing apart from the world rather than being at its (epi)center. "Johnny", Marković (1980: 14) writes, "perceives th[e city] life with the new-comer, *sevdah*, sensibility, lucidly framing his impressions into a forceful and spasmodic new-wave rock'n'roll". Thus, most of Štulić's songs are about others — most prominently demimonde and people on the margins of society. His perspective is that of a keen observer and penetrating chronicler of human condition rather than of a fully-immersed protagonist: he does not project himself through the world; rather he projects the world through himself. When he does step into the world painted by his songs it is always as if though he is almost accidentally there and just one of the characters, rather than *the* character, within the narrative. For the most part, when he inserts himself into the song as the lead he uses that personification of a perspective as a strategic device for offering a first-hand account of an event (or a series of events) and giving the song an additional note of authenticity. The only time Štulić clearly puts himself at the centre of his own 'poetic universe' is when he deals with either the most intimate part of his life — love and its frustrations — or his most urgent worldly preoccupation — that of politics. It is only then that his perspective of an astute observer is transformed into the one of an active(ly reflexive) participant.

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[97] Not everyone, however, was fascinated by Štulić's aura of 'urban messiah'. Stipe Orešković, a member of Croatia's Union of Socialist Youth presidium, says the following of Štulić:

> There are some, however, who, through their music and interviews, project onto themselves a messianic role. The most known Zagreb rocker Branimir Štulić said in an interview a year ago that he recognized the existence of a single evil in this world, the Russians. The very same rocker, if one is to judge him by his lyrics, appears to be the most engaged because he sings about the working class of Poland. And while at the end of the song [Poland in My Heart] he declares "not to send the tanks on the workers - on us", in the next one [The Sunny Side of Street] he says 'I'm sick of work'. Of course he is sick of work because last year [1982] he declared the largest income tax in Zagreb of some three-hundred-million old dinars. It would therefore be better for him to let the working class of Poland be because it already has too many singing about it. (Orešković 1983: 16)

[98] For many, this is unequivocally so. Štulić's aura, despite his almost two-decades long absence from the public life on the territory of former Yugoslavia is very much untarnished and there are whole new generations of audiences for who, despite not even being born when *Azra* was at its music peak and Branimir Štulić reigned as the 'phantom of freedom', nonetheless consider both as speaking directly to them and embodying all that is the essence of rock-music and attitude. Parts of Igor Mirković's documentary film *Sretno* dijete (Mirković 2004b) provide an insightful look into *Azra*/Štulić phenomenon.

If Štulić's poetical *modus operandi* is that of observation from the margins, his encounters with the world are never passive but always dynamically active and with an attitude towards it. Through his songs, in other words, Štulić not only depicts the world but, in depicting it, he also convincingly conveys a sense that he clearly understands it and sees it for what it is. Štulić's peripherality to the narrative, thus, is by no means suggestive of him being marginal to the world, that is, being detached from and lost in it. On the contrary, it is his poetical marginality that is the source of his full awareness of the world, precisely because it enables him to step back willingly from the reality of an ongoing life and observe the it from the sidelines.

Azra's first self-titled LP offers an exquisite portfolio of Štulić's poetic arsenal and his ability to engage with the world on his own terms. On the record Štulić paints the picture of his most immediate social *milieu* — that of Zagreb — through the stories about earnest, if somewhat frustrated, anarchist ("Jablan"), an aging prostitute ("Krvava Meri"), and about personal relationships, for the most part gone awry ("Gracija", "Marina", "Žena drugog sistema"). This world of the personal is situated within Štulić's more general impressions/reflections about the world 'within him' ("Vrijeme odluke") and the world 'out there' ("Iggy Pop"), his personal social circuit ("Ne mogu pomoći nikome od nas"), and intimacy ("Tople usne žene", "Obrati pažnju na posljednju stvar"). The centerpiece of the record is certainly the song "Teško vrijeme" ("Hard Times") which effectively sublimates the narrative, the reflexive, the social and the personal in Štulić's poetics from the margins:

Teško vrijeme za matore prijatelju moj	Hard times for the old men, my friend
na zidovima naši tragovi	our traces on the walls
mi kružimo kao psi	we circle around like dogs
djevojke se ne obaziru za nama	girls don't notice us at all
njihove kose bude sjetu	their hair entices sorrow
dug je put do vječnosti	the road to eternity is long
i mi ga prelazimo šutke i u miru	and we walk it without a word and in silence

Teško vrijeme za matore prijatelju moj	Hard times for the old men, my friend
uloge su davno podjeljene	the roles were handed out a long time go
i svako ide svojim putem	and everybody goes their own way
tateki piju i sapliću dok pjevaju	daddies drink and fumble as they sing
žene ih zaobilaze na mah	women just wave them away
klinci ih rasturaju zbijeni u gomile	huddled kids bust them up
oni pljuju glasno i urlaju kao zvijeri	they spit loudly and howl like beasts

Teško vrijeme za matore prijatelju moj	Hard times for the old men, my friend
ljudi postaju nalik na kokoši	people are becoming like chickens
slabo vide i rano liježu	short-sighted and going to bed early
a jutrom žure na kopanje	in the morning they rush to toil
zbijeni u gomile duhana	crowded in the thick of tobacco
džepova usukanih od znoja dlanova	with pockets twisted by the sweat of their palms
zalaze svuda i u sve guraju nos	they snoop around and barge in as they please

Hej stari sjeti se i reci mi nešto o njoj	Hey, old man, remember and tell me some about her
Hej stari plati gem prijatelj si moj	Hey, old man, pay the round, and you'll be my friend

The other important song on the album is "Uradi nešto" ("Do Something") — Štulić's first official foray into the realm of *praxis* and social engagement:

Uradi nešto za svoju savjest, ne misli da si sam	Do something for your conscience, don't think you're alone
kreni oštro, uzmi stvar u ruke, zaboravi na strah	full force, take charge, forget about the fear
toliko žena koje traže tvoju pomoć	so many women asking for your help
toliko žena koje sanjare	so many women daydreaming
toliko žena koje uzdišu tiho	so many women sighing quietly
ludnica je oko nas	craziness is all around us

Uradi nešto za svoju nervozu, smiri drhtanje	Do something for your nerves, calm your shivers
budi kao Valentino, ne kolebaj se	be like Valentino, without hesitation
nema vremena za bolju budućnost	there's no time for the better future
nema vremena da predahneš	no time to take a breather
nema vremena da živiš još jednom	no time to live one more time
nitko više nije mlad	nobody's young any more

Uradi nešto, to je tvoja dužnost, mnogo toga znaš	Do something, it's your responsibility, you know so much
nisi glupan, takvih isuviše ima, ne očajavaj	you're no dummy, there's too many of them, don't despair
pljuni na svoju facu i postani čovjek	spit on your face and become a man
nek' se čuje i tvoja riječ	let your voice be heard
pljuni na svoju facu pljuni u oči	spit on your face, straight into the eye

ne zabušavaj	don't slack off
Uradi nešto za samoga sebe, nešto veliko	Do something for yourself, something grand
čuvaj muda zauvijek i svuda, drmaj žestoko	watch your balls at all times, go full force
zatvori prolaz za trule moraliste	never mind the rotten moralists
zatvori prolaz za rogonje	never mind the wranglers
zatvori prolaz za staljiniste	never mind the Stalinists
zatvori prolaz za sve	never mind none
Ma hajde mrdni već jednom	C'mon move on already
ma hajde pokreni se	c'mon get into action
ma hajde učini nešto	c'mon do something
ma hajde ...	c'mon ...

Delivered in a burst, "Uradi nešto" captures the essence of Štulić's understanding of the individual's relationship to the surrounding world: for Štulić being in and of society is a matter of conscious engagement with the realities of one's existence, on one hand, and active struggle to 'do something' about one's conditions of life, on the other. Being passive and letting the stream of life toss you around is simply not an option: one either has to exist as an actively engaged social being, or for all practical purposes one does not exist at all. In this sense, Štulić is clearly on Sartre's side declaring that 'one's existence precedes one's essence' and that one's true 'being in the world' is defined by a form of *praxis*, or conscious social engagement oriented towards transformative change, one pursues. To be, one must exist, and to exist one must act. Who one is, in the end, is defined through how one acts in the world and how, based on one's action, one positions oneself with respect to the world one is actively immersed into.

Being an artist, Štulić clearly sees himself as an actively engaged social subject whose art is a continuous critical dialogue with his social *milieu* and, more broadly, his society. As he declares:

> I do everything for people and people give me everything. I am not interested in nature, unless it is polluted; I do not admire its beauties. I am interested in people. (Štulić in Vesić 1982: 8)

In Štulić's view, the fundamental task of art, and of his music, is to test the limits of society and, in this, to push the boundaries of the possible. As he puts it: "[w]hat kind of art is the one that's not polemical? Only the regime's" (in Stošić 1981b: 17). Art, in other words, ought not be in the service of powers that be; its purpose, in Štulić's view, is to constantly question the scope of their might through the *praxis* of 'permanent engagement'. In a more immediate sense, art is there to 'serve the people', that is, to offer something of value and, through offering it, to help individuals understand themselves, their relationship to others, and (to) the 'social universe' they are part of. As Štulić sees it, through art an artist effectively fashions the 'doors of perception' as a gateway towards (the possibility of) illumination — personal and/or collective:

> I am giving people my soul, my heart, my viewpoint about the world … I am offering them what pains me, or what I love, however you want to take it … I don't know, I'm trying to leave some impressions. I'm trying to give those people something in their life, so they feel better in whatever way possible … So let them take me in whatever measure suits them — as much as they wish and whenever they wish, if they wish to at all … (Štulić in Nikolić 1982d: 76)

In illuminating, art clarifies and in clarifying it creates the necessary — if not necessarily sufficient — precondition for an active relationship with the world. In this sense, the doors of art — engaged art, that is — lead to the path of *praxis*.

The boundaries of Štulić's own engagement through music are delimited by his existentialist Marxist convictions and great sympathy for Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and his belief in the possibility of realizing true freedom, on the other. Their point of convergence, I would argue, is socialist humanism and its fundamental concern 'with man and the full unfolding of his potentials, and a critical attitude towards political reality, especially toward ideologies' (Fromm 1966: xi). In Štulić's case, the brand of socialist humanism taken as the ultimate endpoint of his *praxis* incorporates the fervent belief in human freedom as the highest-point of individual self-actualization, the opposition to any obstacle to its realization (political, ideological, or otherwise), the strong populist impulse, and the faith in (the possibility of) Yugoslav society as a true (socialist) democracy. Štulić's engagement, therefore, is a form of advocacy, a type of social critique, and a means of projection — all at the same time. His 'rage against the machine' thus is not an opposition against this or that society or system in particular, but a revolt against the aberrations standing in the way of, in the end, a(ny) society or system realizing the ideal of a truly human community. In the song "Uvijek ista priča" ("Always the Same Old Story") Štulić observes the following:

Kosa mi se na glavi diže i strašno me ljuti	I cringe and it makes me furious
kada vidim da idioti postaju cijenjeni ljudi	when I see that idiots are becoming respected people
u novinama neki frajer glasno trubi	a guy in the paper is driveling aloud
'zaboga recite narodu da se javnost buni'	'for God's sake, tell the people that the public is unhappy'
Slobodnih mjesta ima samo gdje šljakeri rade	Openings are available only for hard labor
svi bi u birokraciju tamo su bolje plaće	but everyone would like to be a bureaucrat, they have better wages
produktivnost ima svoje ekonomsko opravdanje	productivity is economically justifiable
zašto da prolijevam znoj kada dobijem manje	but why should I toil in sweat when I'm not paid for it
Pijem kavu danas barem dvadeset puta	I drink coffee at least twenty times a day
a efektivno radno vrijeme mi nije ni pet minuta	and work effectively about five minutes or so
ne nerviram se mnogo učim dikciju	but I'm not worried about it, I'm learning diction
sa odgovornima ću sprovesti jednu dnevnu akciju	so that I can do a daily round with the guys in charge
Kažite mi tko je podoban	Tell me who is suitable
kažite mi tko je opasan	tell me who is dangerous
uvijek ista priča	it's always the same old story

The target of his criticism is not society as such, but specific 'social practices' Štulić sees as aberrant and therefore undesirable in — and for — any society. True, the criticism is rooted in the realities of Yugoslav society, but its real substantive grounding is the realities of working-class circumstances. The stylistic solution for the song (i.e. the manner in which the message is delivered) is telling in this regard: the voice in the song is filtered so as to sound transmitted through the kind of speakers usually found in the factory yards, and used primarily to convey important messages to the workers. Thus, the idea behind Štulić's message is to produce a sensation of an urgent appeal and council primarily for workers' consumption. In a sense, the voice in the song poses as worker's *conscience* — or lack thereof.

Štulić's populism and his fervent opposition to the oppression of populist expression of human freedom is evidenced perhaps most forcefully and directly in his song "Poljska u mome srcu" ("Poland in My Heart") — a commentary on the events surrounding the rising of Lech Wałęsa's "Solidarnost" movement in Poland and its confrontation with the state's 'military-ideological apparatus'. With a straightforward reportage style, Štulić recounts the key episodes in the confrontation and expresses a great deal of sympathy and admiration for the Polish populist forces. The Poland in Štulić's heart — the one he clearly identifies with — is thus the Poland of working-class solidarity and struggle against the oppression and tyranny of the mighty. He makes his stance unequivocally transparent by declaring in the song that 'they didn't dare — all of us have won' (*nisu se usudili — pobijedili smo svi mi*) and, even more directly, 'they didn't dare sending the tanks two times on the workers — on us' (*dvaput se ne šalju tenkovi na radnike — tenkovi na nas*). The song makes it plain that Štulić not only sides with the working-class forces but that he also thinks of himself as one of 'us the workers'. In this context, the polar opposite to Štulić's identification with the forces of populist struggle for freedom is his strong antipathy for any form of repression/oppression standing in the way of the realization of that struggle, expressed most forcefully in the 'dedication to imperialism and hegemony'[99], "Kurvini sinovi" ("The Sons of Bitches"):

Iza prozora nemirnog sna osjećam njihove sjene gledam kako kroz zidove plešu kurvini sinovi...	Behind the window of a restless dream I feel their shadows I watch them dancing through the wall the sons of bitches ...
Zatvori gubicu nije vrijedna zanata istresi gorčinu do kraja na strateškim mjestima njihovi ljudi kurvini sinovi...	Shut your mouth, it's not worth the effort let out all of your bitterness their people are in the strategic places the sons of bitches...
Otišao sam daleko do krajnjih granica more je uzimalo od neba na drugoj strani znaci oluje vidio sam kako plaze u tami	I went far away, to the outer limits the sea was taking from the sky on the other side the signs of a storm I saw them bulging in the dark
Hladna noć pred velike događaje ne želim više da se sjećam znali su gdje će me naći kurvini sinovi...	A cold night before the grand events I don't want to remember it anymore they knew where to find me the sons of bitches...
Lutke od krvi bez trunke ideje ubice na cesti loša noć, bježim iz grada oni dolaze kurvini sinovi...	Meat puppets without a shred of an idea killers on the road a bad night, I'm escaping the city they're coming the sons of bitches...

Taken together, "Poljska u mome srcu" and "Kurvini sinovi" stand as Štulić's ultimate declarations on the 'for' and 'against' of his social engagement and the boundary markers of affirmation and of denial of the possibility of human self-actualization through freedom.

Now what is freedom for Štulić, and what does he mean when he invokes the notion of freedom as the highest principle of his — and, ideally, everyone's — social engagement? In "Sloboda" ("Freedom"), one of the closing songs of *Azra*'s *New Wave* output, he puts the matter in this way:

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[99] Initially, the song had a quite specific form of imperialism and hegemony in mind (that of the USSR), and was Štulić's direct settling of accounts with what, after the Soviets' forceful interventions in Eastern Europe, he perceived as the 'greatest evil in the world'. After a strong reaction from the USSR embassy to some of Štulić's comments on the matter in the local press, however, the song was turned into a more general 'epitaph to oppression' through the addition of a dedication and the change of a line from 'the Russians are coming' to 'they are coming' (for indirect references to the episode, see Kremer 1982b).

Sloboda nije božje sjeme pa da ti ga neko da sloboda nije zahvalnica pročitana abecednim redom sloboda nije krilatica reklamnog panoa konstruktivna kritika postojećeg stanja	Freedom is not a God's seed to be given to you freedom is not an alphabetically read letter of gratitude freedom is not a slogan on the billboard or a constructive criticism of the existing condition
Sloboda je žena — uzmi je	Freedom is a woman — get it
Sloboda nije podmetanje ideološki zakržljale forme sloboda nije pometanje ideološki bilo kakve forme sloboda nije jednostavan domaći zadatak ona je svijest o skladu nesklada nesavršenih ljudi	Freedom is not a coercion of an ideologically stunted form freedom is not a coercion of any ideological form whatsoever freedom is not simple homework it is the consciousness of the harmony of disharmony of the imperfect people
Sloboda te čeka — uzmi je	Freedom awaits you — get it
Datumi sjećanja kontrola lupa vratima regularna predstava ko ne pamti iznova proživljava	Dates Memories watchers are banging the doors everyday theatre those who don't remember relive it afresh
Sloboda nije mizantropski odbačeno kukavičije jaje sloboda nije uzajamno milovanje idiotskih glava sloboda nije referada staničnih šetača ona je svijest o skladu nesklada nesavršenih ljudi	Freedom is not a misanthropically discarded cuckoo's egg freedom is not a caressing of idiotic heads freedom is not a register of station-strollers it is the consciousness of the harmony of disharmony of the imperfect people
Sloboda je žena — uzmi je	Freedom is a woman — get it

Freedom for Štulić is not something that falls from the sky, something one is forced into, or something one simply walks into. It is also not something prefabricated, or something readily available, or easily handled. Freedom is something to be actively pursued, something one has to struggle for, and something one has to earn. 'Freedom', as he puts it, 'is a woman — get it'. Štulić's definition of freedom as a woman can be understood in two ways: woman as an incarnation and very essence of liberty (as on Delacroix's 1830 painting "Liberty Leading The People") and thus an ideal one should follow; or woman in a more 'earthly' sense as an embodiment of something very precious, and, as such, the goal of one's strivings and efforts. In either case, the symbolism points to the centrality of 'going after' the ideal and, in successfully 'taking it', relishing the fruits of the accomplishment.

In a more specific sense, freedom for Štulić is a 'consciousness of the harmony of disharmony of the imperfect people'. The practicality of freedom, in this context, is embodied in a particular form of awareness about the possibility of a fine balancing act of reconciling the multiplicity of (flawed) individualities within the overall totality of society. To be free thus implies the freedom to exist on one's own terms, however these happen to be construed, together with the freedom to actualize one's individuality, in whatever manner appropriate, within the harmonious co-existence with others: to act freely, consequently, is to recognize the freedom of others ('consciousness') as to basis for one's own condition of freedom ('action'). The way Štulić ultimately sees it, the freedom of one necessarily implicates the freedom of all in as much as the freedom of all is predicated on the freedom of each. No more, no less.

Haustor: A Coulisse of the Urban

If the parameters of Zagreb's *New Wave* 's of the real' were foreshadowed by *Prljavo kazalište*, concretized by *Film*, and cemented in their finest by *Azra*, they were given a new artistic bent by the fourth pillar of the movement, *Haustor* (*Hallway*). An outgrowth of Zagreb's new urban alternative artistic spirit embodied most prominently in the "Kugla" theater company (on "Kugla" and its importance, see Krilović 1983a; Pavelić 1978), the band was somewhat of an oddity on the scene because it did not adhere to the established rock'n'roll form as the default foundation of its expression. Rather, it sought to amend, expand, and in many respects subvert it by introducing a theatrical approach to doing rock'n'roll, and by broadening its idiom through a variety of ethnic and 'Third World' music elements, on the other.[100] The peculiarity of *Haustor*'s relationship to the rest of Zagreb's *New Wave* rock-scene, and *New Wave* itself, was expressed most directly by the band's lead singer Darko Rundek: "I believe that we are not really *New Wave*; the *New Wave* era pushed us to the surface. Otherwise, I think that we are outside trends and fairly unique. I don't think you can say that we are directed by a trend" (Rundek in Žikić 1981d: 17). Nonetheless, the band was unequivocally a part of *New Wave*'s new urban sensibility to which it added 'rock-theater' as an artistic extension of its poetics of the real.

The underlying premise of *Haustor*'s artistic execution was presenting the real in a new (theatrical) light and, in doing so, illuminating the dimensions of an 'undeniable lightness of being' in manner that made the standard rock'n'roll approach unsuitable. Thus, being 'totally different from others' was for the band never an end onto itself, but rather a question of finding the most appropriate means of expressing a different perception of everyday reality and turning into transparent that which for the most part lingers 'below the surface'. According to Darko Rundek, the end-point of illuminating the obscure through *Haustor*'s (approach to) music is to "conscientize people in terms of the emancipation of their personal freedom" (Rundek in Gračaković 1989: 39) — in other words, purposeful social engagement.

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[100] This was mostly due to the creative force behind *Haustor*— Srđan Sacher, a student of ethnomusicology, and Darko Rundek, a student of drama and theater directing.

Perhaps the best sublimation of the essence of *Haustor's* 'rock-theater' as an 'artisation' of the *New Wave* rock poetics and the band's ultimate objective of 'opening up the new vistas of awareness' is offered in the song "Radnička klasa odlazi u raj" ("The Working Class is Leaving for Paradise"), "a psychedelic vision of the end of class history" (Rundek in Žikić 1981d: 19):

U čekaonu na prvom peronu gdje crni đavo toči prvi konjak iznad mračnih pogleda trulih lica kroz prozor prhne crna ptica i veli tada veli grdi črni stvor 'never more'	Into the waiting room, railway platform number five where the black devil pours the first morning brandy above the gloomy glimpses of the decayed faces the black bird flies in through the window and the big black ugly creature then says 'never more'
'Bolje je da odete prilike su nove ulozi u povjesti došao je kraj' u pola četri ujutro sa perona pet radnička klasa odlazi u raj	'You better leave, the circumstances have changed the end has come to your role in history' At half four in the morning from the platform number five the working class is leaving for paradise
Pa, pa, proleteri	Bye, bye, proletariat
A crni đavo rukavice skida on pruža ruke grli se sa svima poljubi ružu baci je u rulju i vikne: 'ah, ta nesretna sudbina plaćam piće svakome ko ostane' (never more) 'plaćam piće svakome ko ostane'	And the red devil takes off his gloves shakes hands, embraces everyone kisses a rose and throws it in the crowd and says: 'Oh, what an unfortunate destiny I'll buy a drink to whoever stays' (never more) 'I'll buy a drink to whoever stays'
'Bolje je da odemo prilike su nove ulozi u povjesti došao je kraj' u pola četri ujutro sa perona pet radnička klasa odlazi u raj	'We better leave, the circumstances have changed the end has come to our role in history' at half four in the morning from the platform number five the working class is leaving for paradise
Pa, pa, proleteri	Bye, bye, proletariat
Momci u plavim kapicama krenuli su na put oni vodiju svoje klince mandolince oni vodiju svoje debele žene oni vlečeju ruksake i prtiju kofere oni sedneju vu kupete bele demižonke navlačiju oni ideju na najveći vikend vu živlenju oni ideju na najljepši vikend vu živlenju	The guys in blue hats are going for a trip they are taking their kids they are taking their obese wives they are tugging their knapsacks and loading up the suitcases they are taking seats in the compartments and stocking up the demijohns they are going for the greatest weekend of their lives they are going for the most beautiful weekend of their lives

Sebe buju našli tam	They will find themselves there
se buju našli tam	find themselves there

The song reads best as a two-act small theater piece set at the train station. In act one, the 'weekend trippers' are getting ready to leave for the trip while at the same time being allured by the 'black devil' to stay with him and continue 'partying'. This part is underscored by somewhat 'arrhythmic' music, suggestive of the strenuousness of the situation. In act two, the music is taking a more exuberant turn (underlined by choir-like vocals), conveying the tripper's sense of jubilation as they are boarding the train and parting from the 'red devil', and going for what promises to be the best weekend ever. In their parting, however, the trippers are bidding farewell not only to the 'black devil' but, unknowingly, to themselves and their own existence. Hence, 'bye, bye, proletariat' — the time is up. In 'staging' a new version of the prophesized end of class history, *Haustor* (re)examines and questions some of the fundamental tenets of the powerful (and, in the context of Yugoslav *conscience collectif*, dominant) form of political-ideological orthodoxy, while offering an 'artistic inroad' for contemplating one's own condition of existence in society and one's possibilities for realizing individual freedom within the pursuit of (the conditions of) a larger societal freedom. Thus, through the projection of the real (to come) in a new light, "Radnička klasa odlazi u raj" edges in the new possibilities of (self-)reflection and, in it, the new frontiers of (self-)awareness.

Belgrade: The Sound of BAS[101]

While in Zagreb the burgeoning club scene became the hallmark of the vibrant 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll, Belgrade's rock circuit was in dire need of an infrastructural support as potent and effective as that of its 'swinging rock'n'roll comrade' to the West. Instead of a network of local clubs where the young performers would hone their music skills and experience, Belgrade had a lone cultural institution of the SKC (Student Cultural Center) as perhaps the only local setting/space supportive of young music — and, more broadly, artistic — talents.[102] And as important as it was for the popular-cultural life of the city, the existence of SKC simply could not provide an adequate substitute for the proper and urgently needed rock infrastructure. As Vukojević puts it:

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[101] The official acronym for Belgrade Alternative Scene.

> What is missing is club spaces where one could play on more-or less daily a basis. This would give the bands opportunities to try out their capabilities, and exchange ideas, members and experiences. Most importantly, the clubs would enable creation of a reliable audience-base.
> [...]
> As to the club spaces in Yugoslavia, these are conspicuously scarce. Zagreb has "Lapidarij" and I hear that the well-known "Kulušić" is opening up. In Belgrade something like this does not exist nor is it in sight. I believe the situation is similar in the rest of Yugoslavia. I wish I was mistaken. (Vukojević 1980: 46)

Rajin makes similar point in his text, arguing that the main reason for the non-existence of Belgrade rock'n'roll scene in the period between 1968/78 had been the non-existence of adequate concert places/spaces built around the idea of more-or-less continuous local performances of young, still (semi)anonymous, local bands[103] (see Rajin 1981a: 38).

An additional hindrance to the development of Belgrade rock-scene was the absence of a 'home-grown' newspaper or magazine that would take a keen and persistent interest in the local rock'n'roll matters, offer a critical exposure for young rock-forces, and work on defining the 'new Belgrade sound'. To put it simply, Belgrade did not have its *Polet* — i.e. its 'rock'n'roll-ideologue' media outlet. To be sure, there were several local youth-oriented papers and magazines (some, like *Polet*, under the auspices of the Alliance of Socialist Youth), but most of them operated under the old journalistic sensibility and with a rather dull popular-cultural nerve, which made them, when compared to *Polet*, conspicuously out of touch with the pulse of the 'new wave' of the urban youth culture. The only print medium that stood out credibly was *Džuboks* (*The Jukebox*), but its primary problem was that it figured as the most prominent national music magazine whose primary mandate was to follow the most important rock'n'roll trends abroad and report on the well-know and established rock bands at home, rather than to zero in on the unknown local talents. Thus, aside from occasional and peripheral articles on local rock-curiosities the magazine was devoted primarily to the known, the popular, and the established. The cumulative consequence was the apparent silent treatment accorded to local music and popular-cultural developments, resulting in a situation where the most prominent Belgrade *New Wave* bands were getting their initial exposure and coverage on the pages of Zagreb rather than local print media. Again, *Polet* and its willingness to treat the bands without any, or minimal, track-record as the 'next great thing in Yugoslav rock'n'roll' proved to be (almost) as important for the affirmation of the 'new wave' of Belgrade rock-music as it was for the development of Zagreb's new rock-scene[104]. It was only after the 'new wave' of Belgrade rock bands got their media credentials elsewhere, that the Belgrade popular press tuned in and began paying more serious attention to the local rock-scene.

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[102] The programmatic platform of the Center (opened in 1971) was based on three principles: supporting young authors and young audiences, having Yugoslav outlook and orientation, and keeping up with cultural developments abroad (in Bogavac 1985: 35). As the Center's former director Dunja Blažević puts it: "we believed in the changing social concept and our motto was: 'New culture for a new society" (1986: 36). In terms of its local working politics, the Center aimed at providing a space where Belgrade's student youth could (attempt to) realize its creative artistic potentials, or simply participate in ongoing cultural activities as an audience; accordingly, access to the Center, its services and programs was (until the mid-1981) free of charge, with an entrance ticket being the possession of a valid student identification.

[103] DADOV Theater introduced a Monday mini rock-scene in the early November of 1980 and thus established itself as the only place in Belgrade where young up and coming bands could be heard continuously, on a weekly basis (see Popović 1980b).

The final — and, to some, most acute — problem that worked against the development of Belgrade rock-scene was the music lag and the inability to keep up with times: taste-wise, most of Belgrade rock'n'roll audience was firmly entrenched in the late 1960's/early 1970's, with most of the 'active rock base' being devoted to either classic rock, hard-rock or jazz-rock (see Palasić 1980). The new music trends were either ignored outrightly or shrugged off nonchalantly as either 'inconsequential passing fads' or as '(in)tolerable annoyances' distracting from the 'real rock'n'roll' . For all practical purposes, the spirit of the new rock sensibility that engulfed the followers of Zagreb's rock-scene was but a distant echo to the ears of Belgrade's rock'n'roll patrons. *The Rolling Stones*, *The Doors*, *Deep Purple*, *Led Zeppelin* and *Pink Floyd* were yet to be dethroned.

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[104] Thus Belgrade's *Electric Orgasm* was given the cover and feature interview in *Polet* before officially releasing one single note of its 'rock'n'roll *òeuvre*'.

Ultimately, the overall atmosphere in the Yugoslav capital at the close of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's was, as far as rock'n'roll went, anything but "capital": there were no adequate spaces for rock concerts, no new forward-looking 'rock'n'roll blood', no new rock'n'roll audience. In a word, 'rock-dinosaurism' reigned rampant. Or did it?

'Something's — After All — Going On!': Stirring Up *Fish Broth*

Although the *New Wave* purists and the majority of self-respecting Belgrade rock'n'roll chroniclers would vehemently oppose the claim of this sort, the 'year zero' of the 'new wave' of Belgrade rock'n'roll was inaugurated by the band as un-*New Wave* as a band can be — *Riblja čorba* ("Fish Broth"). Formally formed on August 15, 1978, and officially premiered to a local audience on March 1, 1979 in the city's "Youth Home" (*Dom omladine*), the band was the first to offer Belgrade a variant of the new rock sensibility and perhaps most effectively capture the essence of what I termed earlier as 'poetics of the real'. Using his own bohemian experiences as a creative springboard, the band's front man and leader Bora Đorđević offered a genuine and unmediated account of local realities, employing a language that was real, direct and unpolished. Or, as Marković puts it:

> Bora Đorđević remains faithful to his 'Weltanschauung' — leaning on a bar counter he observes the world around him (most of all women) and, taking drunkenness as the only strictly male condition, sings about his adventures directly and believably. (Marković 1981a: 16)

If we take as the 'great divide' between the 'old' and the 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll the poetics of the real — that is, the fundamentally new and hitherto non-existing way of speaking about the essence of one's own being in the world reflected through one's self-awareness of personal and larger social position, condition and situation — then, clearly, Belgrade's 'new wave' of rock'n'roll starts with *Riblja čorba* in the late 1970's.

If this is so, then what makes the *Riblja čorba-New Wave* association problematic and, some would most certainly argue, forced? Basically, it is the musical idiom used by the band to package Đorđević's brand of the poetics of the real: rather than adopting the new-and-coming music styles and new ways of playing, *Riblja čorba* relied on the standard hard-rock formulae of the early-to-mid 1970's as the foundation of its music expression. This, in addition to Đorđević's already established track record in Yugoslav music waters (varied in its stylistic and expressive moments), placed the band in the pre-*New Wave* epoch within Belgrade's popular-cultural consciousness and, in some instances, branded it as un-*New Wave*, or even anti-*New Wave*. For, as we shall see shortly, the Belgrade tide of *New Wave* was stylistically about something completely different, and the image of 'old farts' head-banging on the stage while riffing some 'old wave' hard-rock was simply antithetical to everything that breaking away with the stale rock tradition(s), embodied in *New Wave*, was meant to be. Đorđević himself was aware of this and did not see much sense in being branded as, or identifying with, *New Wave*. As he put it:

> It would be extremely duplicitous on our part to now play *New Wave*. Really! It would be really foul to sell ourselves as a new-wave band when we are not that! We play rock'n'roll and we shall play rock'n'roll until the end! And fuck it if that's not fashionable … That is not my fault! I do not think in terms of fashions. We play what we like. (Đorđević in Brešković 1981b: 16)

In the end, it was clearly a matter of substance over style for Đorđević and the label used was clearly of secondary importance.

So what is the essence of Bora Đorđević's poetics of the real? Perhaps the best categorization of his work was given by one of Yugoslavia's most eminent rock-critics Darko Glavan who in his 1981 seminal article on *Riblja čorba*, "Men's kitchen", writes the following:

> in the context of his 'bohemian vignettes', Đorđević is really unsurpassed. Constantly and consciously balancing between banality and vulgarity, Đorđević manages to be if not deep than at least likable, convincing and entertaining in his depthlessness and smoothness. I'll use this occasion to suggest a new stylistic qualification for *Riblja čorba* — pub-rock, or, in Serbian translation, tavern-rock (*kafanski rock*). Unlike the English ones, one cannot hear rock being played in our bars, but Đorđević's songs literally well up from the tavern moods,

> conversations and encounters. It is precisely in this merging of the tavern colloquy and the uncompromising rock'n'roll that one can find the key to *Riblja čorba*'s appeal — populist rock'n'roll not running from its everyday use and application. Listening to *Riblja čorba* one cannot help but notice that — through Đorđević's emphasizing and melodramatizing of certain aspects of his daily living — no other Yugoslav rock band got so close to the sensibility of its potential audience so easily and effortlessly. In line with his impeccable tavern aesthetic, Đorđević's poeticization of reality truly corresponds to the process of alcoholization: heightened emotional tone in most of his songs breathes genuine tavern wetness and wine-induced hyperboles. More often Đorđević is an honest drunk rather than a forced poet, more assured in life's subtleties than poetic details. (Glavan 1981a: 17)

In Glavan's view, then, the essence of Đorđević's poetic of the real is in honest and direct storytelling, devoid of any pretense of 'abstract metaphorizing' and linguistic sophistication characteristic of most 'old wave' rock'n'roll. In his songs, Đorđević offers himself as he really is and reflects on his local *milieu* as he really sees it, without as much as entertaining the thought of omitting, or hiding, its less polite and sophisticated dimensions. In this, he inevitably builds his world drawing on local (meta)physical specificities and records them unprocessed and without any artistic embellishments: "There is no polishing of music or lyrics; things are presented as they really are" (Peterman 1982: 72).

The initial few singles and the first two LP records are the prime examples of Đorđević's poetics of the real. He opens his opus with "Lutka sa naslovne strane" ("The Cover Doll"), a song about the realities of a female nude model, speaking openly for the first time in the history of Yugoslav rock'n'roll about the life of an aspiring starlet. The first LP, "Kost u grlu" ("Bone in the Throat"), sums up the experiences of living in a big city, while the second record, "Pokvarena mašta i prljave strasti" ("Foul Mind and Dirty Passions"), deals with the contemporary realities of urban love. As Đorđević puts it,

> *Foul Mind and Dirty Passions* is first and foremost a love album. It is also — to employ that too-often-used and worn out term — a concept-record. … Look, there is no nice love today, like holding hands, walking in the park, kissing, staring at the stars, the moon, the river … That is totally non-existent today! People today are totally into fucking! … What bothers me is the filth overshadowing those nice things. There is no more purity … hence the title of the record, *Foul Mind and Dirty Passions*.

> [...]
> There is a lot of vulgarized reality on the record. ... In all the songs one can perceive one pretty brute existence. (Đorđević in Brešković 1981b: 16)

Đorđević's poetics, therefore, aim at documenting the 'vulgarized reality' and 'brute existence' of intimate and interpersonal aspects of life in a modern urban environment, portraying city life as it really is and as it truly happens. In this, however, they are also about demystifying the urban (i.e. Belgrade) as a 'big ugly city', as he puts it in one of his songs, and revealing it in all of its unadulterated grotesqueness. What Belgrade acquires with Đorđević is not only the very first urban rock-poet who unabashedly takes repeated stabs at the city's 'soulless soul', but also an artistic articulation of the 'new metropolitan' who recognizes the affirmation of his own self in the essence of the urban, no matter how ugly and grotesque, filtered through subjective experiences. And this is exactly what is at the heart of Belgrade *New Wave*'s poetics of the real.

Đorđević's by all measures revolutionary impact on Belgrade's rock'n'roll scene is perhaps best eulogized by Petar Popović who writes:

> Belgrade had its "Silluetes", "Korni Group" and "YU Group", but it took the 1980's and this tireless devourer of alcohol — together with the outsiders gathered around *Riblja čorba* — to bring Belgrade to the status of rock'n'roll capital. Thereafter, ... it was easier for others. First to sing about the unspoken side of metropolis, the daily *milieu*, the proprietors of our pasts and our futures, the everyday human defeats, Bora radically and irrevocably changed the [Belgrade's rock] scene. (Popović 1990a: 12)

Without a doubt, then, the 'year zero' of the 'new wave' of Belgrade begins with *Riblja čorba* and Bora Đorđević's brand of the poetics of the real. Or as Glavan puts it: "*Riblja čorba* is the populist band number 2 in Yugoslavia and the best Serbian[105] rock'n'roll band of all times" (Glavan 1981a: 17). Clearly, that says something about its importance, impact and legacy.

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[105] As Galvan (1981a: 17) explains, 'Serbian' designation is a reflection of the prominence of "Serbian temperament and the atmosphere of Belgrade gathering spots" (i.e. of the authentically encapsulated flavor of a specific local *milieu*) in Đorđević's songs. As such it has nothing to do with national(ist) connotations of any sort. In his article, Galvan draws a parallel between *Riblja čorba* and *Bijelo dugme* (Yugoslav people's band number 1) whose poetics in the early 'shepherd-rock' phase also authentically captured Bosnian temperament and mentality.

BAS: The Summer of '81

The official line on the birth of Belgrade stream of *New Wave* has it that the new age of rock'n'roll in the national capital officially began with the LP *Paket aranžman* (*The Package deal*), the joint project by the three pillars of the new Belgrade rock-scene[106]: *Idoli* (*Idols*), *Šarlo akrobata* (*Sharlo the Acrobat*), and *Električni orgazam* (*Electric Orgasm*). Initially, the record was to include the works by some peripheral 'new-wavers' and some clearly 'old-wave' rock'n'rollers but, in the end, the LP ended up being a document of the new Belgrade bands' early works, indicative of the rebirth of the for-some-time-rather-lethargic local rock'n'roll scene. As with most, if not all, key *New Wave* recordings, the LP was released by Zagreb's *Jugoton*. It was officially premiered in the early March of 1981 in Zagreb during the showcase of Belgrade's rock'n'roll talents in the city, headlined under the banner ".. Good to See You" (see Gajić, Pezo and Runjić 1981). The three bands had their first (joint) public performance in the early 1980 in Belgrade's SKC (Student Cultural Centre) and in the next few months *Šarlo akrobata* and *Električni orgazam* followed up their initial encounters with Belgrade audience with about a dozen or so concerts. *Idoli*, on the other hand, built their reputation with a carefully crafted media image (in addition to 'infectious' or, perhaps better, infatuating songs) and had only a couple of very short public appearances. In the early days of Belgrade *New Wave*, the band was known better by their 'stylistic physiognomy' than by their live performances (see Rajin 1980c).

In his review of *Paket aranžman* Rajin observes, while also making an indirect but important distinction between Zagreb and Belgrade streams of *New* Wave, that fundamental to the record is an attempt to situate (or concretize) the real problems and themes from everyday life and thus offer clips from Belgrade streets. In Rajin's view, perhaps the most suitable designation for this documentary approach common to all three bands would be 'new realism' (Rajin 1981c: 55). He also observes, however, that, in addition to this 'realist moment', Belgrade's new rock sensibility has yet another aspect to it — a mélange of narcissism, 'reflexive paranoia', surrealist impressions, and conscious dissimulation. Although not cast thus by Rajin himself, this aspect can perhaps be best designated as 'new artism', where 'artism' points to realist explorations of reality that go beyond the given, the immediate, the obvious, and the transparent. Here, 'artism' denotes not an escapist mode of reflection on the real, characteristic of the pre-*New Wave* sensibilities, but rather an act of 'subverting the real' through the process of artistic expression(istic exploration) so as to make it more tangible and transparent (i.e. real). 'Artism', therefore, is not a 'non-substantive style' but, rather, a 'stylized (substantiation of) substance'. The latter is, ultimately, what makes the Belgrade stream of *New Wave* somewhat different (or, if you will, richer) from its Zagreb counterpart and what gives it an additional quality of 'poetical complexity'.[107] The Zagreb *New Wave*, thus, was rock'n'roll incarnate; the Belgrade *New Wave* was rock'n'roll incarnate reflexively.

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[106] According to Vojislav Đukić of DADOV Theater, Belgrade's *New Wave* scene claimed about eighty bands, all with their own repertoire and (for the most part small but) loyal local supporters .

The other important difference between the two streams of *New Wave* was stylistic in nature. While Zagreb's *New Wave* was stylistically more or less homogeneous, building on the legacy of standard rock'n'roll mode of expression (direct, melodic, and energetic sound) and punk's socially conscious engagement, Belgrade's *New Wave* was stylistically much more diverse, drawing on a variety of not necessarily commensurable sources of inspiration. As Jakšić puts it rather aptly:

> The main characteristic of Belgrade New Wave is non-homogeneity of styles. New Wave is a rather broad concept and encompasses a wide variety of different things: from post-punk, over ska-music, to all sorts of revival movements; Belgrade bands, it would appear, use all these styles. … In this sense, one could compare Belgrade New Wave to a big tree whose roots are somewhere in punk, and with each of its branches in the treetop figuring for a unique way of understanding New Wave. (Jakšić 1981: 21)

This, of course, is not to say that Zagreb's *New Wave* had no stylistic variety (*Haustor* is the best testimony to the contrary), but, perhaps because of personal closeness and artistic collaboration of most key Zagreb's new-wavers, there was a sense that all the bands under the *New Wave* banner had more commonalities than differences. With Belgrade's bands it was the opposite. Thus, while Zagreb's scene thrived on the proximity of artistic visions, Belgrade's scene flourished on artistic multifacetedness. This difference gave the Yugoslav *New Wave* broader artistic scope and greater vibrancy and intensity, and, in the end, made the movement so unique in all respects.

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[107] Important to note here is that this complexity is evidenced at the level of both lyrics and music which is but another way of saying that Belgrade bands were somewhat more experimental in their examinations of, and reflections on, the real. This experimenting, however, remained firmly within the parameters of rock'n'roll expressiveness, albeit with an inkling for somewhat more avant-garde incarnation thereof.

Paket aranžman, the hallmark recording of Belgrade *New Wave*, offers perhaps the best insight into the three 'conceptual-stylistic fundamentals' of *Šarlo akrobata*, *Električni orgazam*, and *Idoli:* 'new realism', 'new artism', and 'artistic multifacetedness'. At the thematic centre of the record is interrogation of the urban, undertaken as an exploration of the complexities of the relationship between the individual and the immediate living *milieu*. The essence of this relationship is a tension between the almost destructive nature of the latter and the struggle for self-assertion by the former. The urban habitat, in this context, is a *milieu* of the illusive, the disturbing and the repressive; hovering above the individual is a constant threat — real or perceived — of being drowned by one's surroundings, disarmed of one's substance, and voided of one's freedom to exist on one's own terms. The end-effect of this fundamentally discordant relationship is a paranoid disquiet, sometimes articulated as the 'temper of overwhelmingness', sometimes as the 'spirit of resilience', and sometimes as both. Fundamental to the relationship, however, is an understanding, or maybe resignation, that one is inextricably part of one's living *milieu* and that therefore there is 'no way out' — no possibility of escape or evasion — but only the option of affirming oneself in the face of what one is surrounded with, and sometimes (felt as if) entrapped in, through an active engagement in the struggle 'to be'. The individual, in the end, is an outgrowth of his living environment which is within him as much as he is within it: the knot that binds them — no matter how discordantly complex — is impossible to disentangle.

On a Tightrope: Orgasmic Acrobatics of Belgrade's Poetics of the Real

Šarlo akrobata's four songs on *Paket aranžman* are vivid and lucid illustrations of the above. The opening track of the record, "Ona se budi" ("She's waking up"), problematizes the alienating existence of a female teenager in the big city. 'Waking up' in the title of the song, and the lyrical centerpiece of its chorus, is suggestive of a cognizance of one's own life-circumstance and of all one is immersed into — a metaphor for awakening of one's consciousness. The realization that ensues is one of frustration with the 'rules of engagement' and the 'social codex' of one's surrounding, on the one hand, and of a feeling of disconnect and longing, on the other:

Ona puni osamnaest godina u junu	She will be 18 in June
nezna šta da radi kada položi maturski ispit	and she doesn't know what to do after graduating
ljudi su vrlo zlobni dok gledaju njene grudi,	people are wicked while staring at her breasts
ljudi su zlobni dok gledaju njen ten...	people are wicked while staring at her complexion
Ona se budi...	She's waking up...
Celoga života, nečim joj pune glavu	All her life, the fill her head with something
lutkice, krpice, suknjice, su stvari za devojčice	dolls, rags and skirts are for the girls
igrati lastiš ona nikada nije znala	she never knew how to hula-hoop
skuvati ručak nikad nije bila njena stvar...	making lunch was never her thing...
Ona se budi...	She's waking up...
Ona nema nikoga da joj kaže	She doesn't have anyone to tell her
ti si moja, ti si moja, ti si...	you are mine, you are mine, you are...
Ljudi se čude zar ona može da misli	People are baffled at how is it that she can think
ljudi se čude zar ona sme da zna	people are baffled at how come she's allowed to know
ljudi su vrlo zlobni dok gledaju njene grudi,	people are wicked while staring at her breasts
ljudi su zlobni dok gledaju njen ten...	people are wicked while staring at her complexion
Ona se budi...	She's waking up...
Ona nema nikoga da joj kaže	She doesn't have anyone to tell her
ti si moja, ti si moja, ti si...	you are mine, you are mine, you are...

'She' is at odds with her environment and the people around her (who make her at odds with herself). She feels disconnected, but the disconnect she feels reaches deep within, leaving her longing for the 'intimacy of connection' and a sense of belonging. "Mali čovek" ("A Small Man"), *Šarlo akrobata*'s second offering, furthers the theme of the constraining force of the urban *milieu* considered in "Ona se budi", only this time as a reflection on the general 'state of being' experienced by most 'small people':

Mali čovek želi preko crte	A small man yearns to cross the line
preko crte želi ali ne sme	he wants across the line but is afraid
njega guše propisane norme	he is stifled by the prescribed norms
preko crte njegovo je mesto	across the line is where he belongs

Mali čovek želi preko crte	A small man yearns to cross the line
preko crte želi ali ne sme	he wants across the line but is afraid
preko crte želi ali ne sme	he wants across the line but is afraid
mali čovek želi preko crte	a small man yearns to cross the line

The band's third recording on *Paket aranžman*, "Oko moje glave" ("Around My Head"), impresses itself as a collage of unnerving projections about mental distress as the extreme consequence of the oppressiveness of urban surroundings. The first part of the song focuses on its 'externality' ('mental patients on the run through the city'), while the second centers on the conflict between the 'sane' and the 'mental', and the dubious demarcation between the two. The 'narrative undercurrent' throughout is centered around externalities being internalized and internal states of the mind being projected out, resulting in a sensation of uncertainty about whether what is experienced has taken place 'out there' in the real world (i.e. outside the head) or within oneself (i.e. in the head). Hence the title of the song "Around My Head" as a symbolic referent to the inability to come to grips with one's own mind: 'did what is perceived as happening, or having happened, really happen?'; 'if it did, was it real or imagined reality, or just disjointed mental projections running around my head?' In the closing number on the record, "Niko kao ja" ("No-one like me"), the contentious relationship between the individual and the urban *habitus* is presented as a succinct declaration of one's uniqueness in the face of the threat of the latter's homogenizing and alienating power. Throughout the song *Šarlo akrobata* proclaims boldly, loudly and repeatedly that there is 'no-one like me', as if shouting at the city and daring it to assault the 'unique my-self' felt within and projected outwardly through an attitude of resilience, while, at the same time, struggling to resist the assault dared, if only in (or, perhaps, with) the 'echo of the scream'. If "Ona se budi" poses the question of 'who am I in this world?', and "Mali čovek" and "Oko moje glave" center on '(where) am I in this world?', "Niko kao ja?" ultimately declares — 'I am in this world!' In this, it also declares 'this world is within me!'

Električni orgazam's contributions to *Paket aranžman* explore the same theme as *Šarlo akrobata* — the individual within the urban *milieu* — but focus particularly on the issues of urban frustration(s) and anonymity of existence in the 'concrete jungle'. The individual portrayed is fully conscious of the oppressive nature of his urban surroundings and his being in the world is animated by an active resistance to it, be it as the spirit of resilience or the attitude of nonconformity. In either case, the point is to preserve one's individuality — that is, one's sense of uniqueness and difference, perceived as constantly threatened and under assault. The song "Krokodili dolaze" ("The Crocodiles are Coming") is the band's most direct and forceful stab at the heart of the matter:

Noć je, sam sam vrati se, strah me je	It's dark, I'm alone come back, I'm afraid
Jer ja neću da sam sam jer krokodili dolaze	Because I don't want to be alone because the crocodiles are coming
Ko su oni i šta hoće i što me vode iz slobode?	Who are they and what do they want and why are they taking me out of freedom?
Kad ja neću da sam sam jer krokodili dolaze	When I don't want to be alone because the crocodiles are coming
Nema više ništa, nema više nikoga krokodili su pojeli sve i tebe i mene i njega i nju	There's nothing, there's no-one no more the crocodiles have devoured everything An you, and me, and him and her
A ja neću da sam sam kad krokodili dolaze	And I don't want to be alone when the crocodiles are coming

The sense of paranoid disquiet resonating throughout the song is rooted not in an irrational fear of the 'crocodiles' — i.e. everything encroaching upon and endangering one's unique self — but in a conscious awareness of the overwhelming alienating power the urban surroundings has over the 'small people' and over everyone lost in its maze of anonymity and conformity. It is, no matter how seemingly paranoid, a manifestation of active engagement with one's surrounding and daily experiences of the life one is immersed into. "Zlatni papagaj" ("Golden parrot") and "Vi" ("You"), *Električni orgazam*'s two other contributions to *Paket aranžman*, are the testimonies to the conscious recognition of this power effect of urban *milieu*. The former is a sneering commentary on an elite social circuit of the new young dandies (*urbana šminka*), whose lives revolve around the depthless spiritual and material superficialities, and around the celebration of the emptiness of one's existence:

Mi volimo ženske fine, našminkane, doterane	We like girls who are nice, made-up, dressed up
uredno smo počešljani, obučeni, obuveni	we are neatly groomed, dressed, shoed
mi nosimo skupo perje, ispeglano, mirišljavo	we wear expensive clothes, pressed, scented
gnušamo se GSP-a, kolima se brže stiže	we detest public transit, cars are much faster

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[108] "Zlatni papagaj" is the name of the very first coffee shop (*kafić*) in Belgrade which quickly became the favorite hangout for all up-and-coming dandies.

Naše glave prazne jesu, ali ko još zato mari
jer lova je najvažnija i drugo nas ne zanima
u Rimu se oblačimo i imamo Dajners karte
krem društvo je naša klasa, svi ostali manje vrede

Pankere ne podnosimo, ni smrdljive hipije
mi sterilni možda jesmo, ali krivi za to nismo
jer naše tate, naše mame parama nas zasipaju
i neka za nas drugi misle, mi sposobni za to nismo

Zlatni papagaj, tata plaća sve račune
Zlatni papagaj, jer mi smo snobovi.[108]

Our heads are empty, but who cares about that
because money is most important and we don't care for the rest
we dress in Rome, we have Diners Cards
our rank is high society, all others are lesser

We hate the punks and the stinky hippies
we might be bland but that's not our fault
our dads and our moms are showering us with money
let others think for us, because we can't do it ourselves

Golden parrot — daddy pays all the bills
Golden parrot – because we are snobs

"Vi", on the other hand, is a critical reflection on a 'lost generation' of urban adults lulled into the anonymity of a lifeless existence, exacted by the urban surroundings' forceful power of conformity:

Vi
što virite iz džepova solitera
skriveni mrežom usamljenosti
pođite ovim sivilom, gledajte ljudska lica
možda ćete se setiti prošlosti
prošlosti

Vi
zarobljenici novca
vi
što vas vuku mrtve reke života
stanite
zar još uvek niste dovoljno sami?

You
peaking from the packets of skyscrapers
hidden by the veil of loneliness
go around this grayness, look at human faces
maybe you'll remember the past
the past

You
the prisoners of money
you
dragged by the dead rivers of life
stop
aren't you lonesome enough already?

Taken together, the songs read as a meditation on the cycle of modern urban alienation — "Zlatni papagaj" as its prologue; "Vi" as its ultimate epilogue. But also, and perhaps more importantly, they are the poetic reminders of the invisible and imperceptible force one is constantly confronting in an ongoing struggle for self-affirmation and, ultimately, for license to a life on one's own terms — in a word, for free and authentic subjectivity. The essence of it all is perhaps most forcefully distilled in the closing track of *Električni orgazam*'s self-titled debut record, the song "Nebo" ("The Sky"):

Moje su nebo vezali žicom
po mome mozgu crtaju šeme
žele još jednu kopiju svoju
da njome vrate nestalo vreme

Al' ne dam svoje ja ideale
i ješću snove umesto hleba
ja svoju sreću nosim sa sobom
ona je parče slobodnog neba

They bound my sky with wire
they draw the schemes on my brain
they want yet another copy of themselves
to return the times faded away

But I'm not giving on my ideals
and I'll eat dreams instead of bread
I carry my happiness with me
for it is a morsel of the free sky

Idoli: 'Schwüle über Jugoslawien'

If *Šarlo akrobata* and *Električni orgazam* offered penetrating explorations of the complexly problematic condition of an individual within the most immediate social environment — that of the city — the third contributor to *Paket aranžman*, *Idoli* ("Idols"), shifted the terrain onto a broader plane by focusing on the particular forms of collective *mentalitiées* in the context of the most general socio-cultural environment of the national society. At the root of *Idoli*s musical project was examination of the particular incarnations of the *conscience collectif* of Yugoslav society, as manifested through specific historical and contemporary socio-cultural moments.

As Srđan Šaper, the bend's principal 'ideologue', explains it:

> On "Paket aranžman" Idoli very lucidly deal with some typical YU-frustrations: "The Boys" — hypertrophy and ironization of Russophilia; "Sultriness over Europe" — fixation with Germanophobia; "America" — unmasking of Yugoslav American dream; and finally "Plastic" — trend-exploitation of pseudo-intellectual ecological fad. (Šaper in Pajkić 1982: 34)

According to Šaper, the centerpiece of *Idoli*s contribution to *Paket aranžman*, the song "Maljčiki" ("The Boys"), is about the emotion underlying the 'togetherness' of socialist realism and Slavism:

Plamene zore bude me iz sna	Fiery dawns wake me from my dreams
fabrička jutra, dim iz dimnjaka	factory mornings, smoke from the chimney
pesma se ori, mladi radnici	the song is breaking through, young workers singing
čelična jutra, hitam fabrici.	steely mornings, I'm rushing to the factory
Drugovi moji, radni, veseli	My comrades, cheerful, ready to work
bicikle voze, ponositi svi	are riding their bicycles all proud
drugovi moji, radni, veseli	my comrades, cheerful, ready to work
pobede nove nosićemo mi.	we are going to claim a new victory today
Sunce već greje, vetar čarlija	The sun is up, shining, there is a pleasant breeze
jutarnja rosa, zemlja mirisna	the morning dew, the scent of earth in the air
sunce već greje, a a a a a	The sun is shining, a a a a a
bogata žetva, radujem se ja.	The harvest is rich, I am so happy
(sung in Russian)	(sung in Russian)
Popodne kružok na koji idem ja	In the afternoon I'm going for a meeting
tamo će biti i moja devojka	I'm going to meet my girl over there
devojka plava, koju volim ja	she's is a blonde, I really love her
sa njom ću se voziti sanjkama.	we're gonna take a ride in the sled
Visoke peći potpaljujem ja	I'm firing up the blast furnaces

ruda se topi, nasmejan sam ja	the ore is smelting, I am smiling
pesma se ori, peva fabrika	the song is breaking out, the factory is singing
pesma se ori, a a a a a.	the song is breaking through, a a a a a

As Šaper puts it,

> there is not a single Slavic country that is not socialist — that has not tried and experienced that socialist realism. Therefore, there has to be something immanent to this [Slavic] psychology and this particular way of connecting [via socialist-realist experience]. (Šaper in Rajin 1981a: 38)

For *Idoll*s principal creative force Vlada Divljan (in Jekić 1981: 16), however, "Maljčiki" is primarily a stylistic experiment through a symbiosis of a particular Slavic non-rock-music idiom (i.e. kazachok) and a particular socialist-realist aesthetic in the context of a rock-song. Regarding the 'socialist-realist moment' in the song, Divljan observes:

> We always thought that this so in-your-face phenomenon [of socialist-realism] has a consistent ethical stance and that it therefore offers the perfect foundation for further elevation; this is something we — spurred by the experience of the past twenty years — tried to accomplish through our lyrics, our behavior, and the overall atmosphere of the band.(Divljan in Nikolić 1981i: 45)

Thus, the exploratory aspect of the song is carried through the symbiosis of its lyrical contents, musical style(s), and the overall performative delivery. One is inextricably informed by the others and it is precisely this inextricability of style, form, and content that enables the multilayered juxtapositions of the symbolic referents of Slavic psychology within socialist realism and of the socialist-realist experience within Slavism — exercised as "not … a critique of the past era, but as an advocacy of specific values" (Wruss 1983: 13). *Idoll*s additional three contributions to *Paket aranžman* follow the same exploratory 'mode of execution' as an artistic springboard for delving into the 'pathological' within Yugoslav *conscience collectif* — 'Germanophobia', through the militant aggressiveness of "Schwüle über Europe"; the 'Yugoslav American dream', with the torn staccato 'far-away-so-close' reverberations of 'where is America?' in "Amerika"; and 'Eco-fad' through the fast-paced monochromatic elations of "Plastika".

*Idoli*s exploration of collective *mentalitées* in the context of particular socio-historical moment continues after *Paket aranžman* on their most critically acclaimed recording *Odbrana i poslednji dani* ("Defense and the Last Days"). This time around the focus is on examination of religion — Orthodox faith, in particular — as both historical socio-cultural and contemporary political current within Yugoslav society. For Šaper, the centrality of Orthodox religion on the record is decidedly multi-plane: first, religion as an ever-present idea; second, religious ritual as an important practice; third, religion as a reflection of ethnic dimension of one's existence; fourth, religion as a way of discovering something new musically and emotionally; and, finally, religion as a reflection of trendiness of following current fads (namely, 'religionization' of the country's socio-cultural discourse) (Šaper in Vukojević 1982b: 31). On a more general plane, the specifically religious focus of *Odbrana i poslednji dani* is an attempt at constructing a neo-Slavic sentiment through an examination of one's own (religious) tradition and one's own (religious) rituals. Religion, in this context, is considered primarily as a cultural delineation of one specific ethnicity rather than as 'deistic definition' of the human — and thus social and cultural — beginnings. Hence, religion as soci(ologic)al rather than 'metaphysical' category (see Šaper's comments in Pajkić 1982). For the music critic Dragan Todorović, though, "the boys are experimenting with religion so as to examine freedom — their own, inner, and the system's, outer". (Todorović 1982: 19). In this sense, *Idoli*s deconstruction of 'Orthodoxism', and, by extension, the record itself, is as political as it is socio-cultural (or, perhaps, sociological) an undertaking.

In many respects, *Odbrana i poslednji dani* is the last stage in the arc of *Idoli*s creative opus which begins with the exploration of pan-Slavism through examination of an emotional undercurrent implicated in the commonality of Slavic/socialist-realist experience, and which ends with exploration of neo-Slavism as a particularization of Slavic experience through the prism of specific socio-cultural experience (see, for example, Popović 1982b). In both cases, at the root of the artistic probing is an emotional moment of — in case of the former — aggregated trans-national but in a sense ethnic *conscience collectif*, and — in case of the latter — ethnic *conscience collectif* located at a definite national (and personal) level of manifestation. The first, then, is an exploration of (one particular expression of) the universal in Slavic experience; the second, a search for the particular within the universality of the very same experience. Both can be thought of as simultaneously the pulling and pushing forces acting as both the means of connecting and disconnecting one's individual and collective being from its natural (if it is such) social locus.

In-between *Idoll*s contributions to *Paket aranžman* and *Odbrana i poslednji dani* is an episode of 'artistic escapism' which can be interpreted as a respite from 'artistic intellectualism' and as homage to one's own music tradition (both global and local) — namely, the sound of the late 1950's and early 1960's. However, even this so apparent a music escapade can be taken as an exploration of one's social, or cultural, individual and collective being in the form of coming to terms with one's foundational formative influences, both personal and generational. In this context, *Idoll*s infatuating renditions of the early rock'n'roll sound are not only a tribute to the times gone by, but are also stylistic explorations of the rock'n'roll experience as a crucial 'cultural marker' in a particular socio-historical moment.

*Idoll*s follow-up to *Odbrana i poslednji dani* (and, effectively, their last record), *Čokolada* (*Chocolate*), took the route of 'artistic escapism' and offered a new, apparently non-artistic, incarnation of the band.[109] As Šaper explains it, *Idoll*s new direction and decidedly lighter tone on *Čokolada* was a reflection of the cultural climate of 'panical need for fun', reflective of the overall social state of Yugoslavia as a society in crisis: "Today people are having much more fun than before. Before they had no need for fun because they were living happily; today they are not in the state of happiness, so they have a need for fun" (Šaper in Hudelist 1983: 48). Before the crisis, in other words, 'fun' and the overall merriness was a natural outcome of the generally satisfying and fulfilling conditions of life; now that the conditions of life are not satisfying and fulfilling, 'having fun' becomes a need and a means of short-circuiting, and compensating for, the general absence of what used to be a normal condition of life. As Šaper sees it,

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[109] While critics, still under the impression of *Odbrana i poslednji dani*'s avant-garde bent, proved to be rather reserved and indifferent towards *Idoll*s 'escapist turn', the audience — if record sales are any indication — bit into the 'chocolate' wholeheartedly. While the critically acclaimed predecessor sold 29,629 copies, *Čokolada* was a clear best-seller with 125,305 copies and, as it turned out, the band's commercially most successful release ever (Grujić 1984p: 13).

> with our previous record [*Odbrana i poslednji dani*] we anticipated a social state that would generate some larger problems, and force people to consider closely if they were on the right path. This new record is an outlet for some of our intimate states, which in a way fits with the overall state of collective spirit, the spirit which in times of complete crisis — economic and moral — seeks and finds relaxation and happiness, albeit only superficially. (Hudelist 1983: 47-8)

The 'sweetness' and 'sweet escapism' of *Čokolada*, then, is but an artificial substitute for the 'sweetness of — and in — life', and as such, although in a rather different way, yet another exploratory reflection on the current within the overall collective and personal experience of a particular socio-cultural and political moment. Although it app[illegible] markedly different from the 'avant-garde' *Odbrana i poslednji dani*, the band's offering of *Čokolada* is, on a substantive plane, like its predecessor in that it shares the fundamental artistic premise of, as Popović (1982b: 55) puts it, "exploiting the current as the band's creative technique".

New Wave*: A Résumé*

Without a doubt, *New Wave* stands as the watershed in the history of Yugoslav (popular) culture and Yugoslav society. Its revolutionary impact can be assessed from three distinct planes: (1) expressive-cultural, (2) music-cultural, and (3) societal-cultural. The expressive-cultural plane of impact has to do with the fact that *New Wave* was the first embodiment of the radically knew understanding of rock'n'roll as 'music of commitment' that not only irreversibly changed the essence of rock'n'roll as a popular-cultural form but also fundamentally altered the essence of 'popular-cultural consciousness' with regards to the socio-cultural potency of rock-music. *New Wave*, in other words, was the very first organized form of popular culture, or a popular-cultural music movement, that demonstrated that rock'n'roll could be used for much more than mere entertainment, and that its ultimate popular-cultural utility rested in its power to impress itself as a means of socio-cultural (self-)concretization. This, in turn, resulted in a 'natural symbiosis' between rock-music and Yugoslav youth whereby the latter found in the former its most powerful 'cultural weapon' in the struggle for self-affirmation and socio-cultural visibility in Yugoslav socialist community. The new rock'n'roll generation found in *New Wave* the most effective way of stepping out of the socio-cultural shadow and declaring its presence in society through an authentic form of expression and in a voice that was distinctly its own. In this, Yugoslav youth was able to define itself as the full-fledged socio-cultural agency with not only a right to exist but also a right to be actively engaged with socio-cultural and socio-political realities of its own society. The expressive-cultural impact of *New Wave* was its power of being the key — and only — (popular-)cultural means through which Yugoslav youth could explain itself to the 'society proper', relay its own understanding of society and its position in and relationship to it, and convey its own sense of the power-effect(s) that socio-cultural and socio-political structures of society they inhabit have on the individual and collective Yugoslav subject(s).

The musical-cultural impact of *New Wave* rests in concretizing the idea of rock'n'roll as 'music in commitment' and, in doing so, providing a foundational blueprint for subsequent popular-cultural developments in Yugoslav rock-music and its relationship to society. In emphasizing the importance of brains, the *New Wave* patented an understanding that rock-music has to be about something, and that its ultimate legitimacy rests on its ability and intent to communicate in a substantive fashion with its audience, its immediate social *milieu*, and, ultimately, the society at large. The *New Wave* also made it explicit that not only can music communicate substantively but that the ultimate objective of that communication ought to be a socially relevant form of engagement with the structures and realities of the 'general societal universe'. Put together, the two dictums ultimately converged into a general attitude that, in terms of rock'n'roll as 'music of commitment', it was not only important that the music communicates something, but *what* it communicates. And, in the context of subsequent popular-cultural developments, this was taken as axiomatic by the two other music movements that followed in the footsteps of *New Wave* — the *New Primitives* and the *New Partisans*. For the *New Primitives*, the general attitude underlying the essence of a 'music of commitment' was incarnated as poetics of the local which took the engagement with the socio-cultural *milieu* of Sarajevo as the foundation for articulating the sense of one's identity, one's individual and collective destinies, and one's relationship to the world 'out there' beyond the immediacy of the local the mandate to be oneself on one's own terms and authenticate one's unique (individual and collective) essence within the lager societal universe from the viewpoint of unabashed autochthon localism. For *New Partisans*, the ethics of commitment so central to *New Wave* translated into poetics of the patriotic. These prioritized, as the ultimate expression of rock'n'roll's 'normative imperative', a struggle for a unified Yugoslavia as the highest form of social engagement, and the pursuit of 'original Yugoslavism' as the means of (re)animating and (re)invigorating socio-political, socio-cultural and moral-ethical foundations of the Yugoslav socialist community in crisis. In both cases, the *New Wave* provided a socio-cultural springboard for the exploration of particular priorities of the two movements and, in doing so, offered a necessary precondition for their existence. Simply put, without the *New Wave* and everything the movement embodied musically and culturally there would be neither *New Primitives* or *New Partisans*.

Finally, the societal-cultural impact of the *New Wave* is manifested in the altered nature of the relationship between Yugoslav popular culture and the official socio-cultural institutional and cognitive frameworks, which expanded the cultural boundaries of Yugoslav socialist community. Reflecting on the initial state of *New Wave*/official society relationship Vlatko Fras writes the following:

> There is an awareness that [social] problems of [different] sorts are after all too complex, and that one's attitude towards them cannot be expressed through swearing and cynicism. In this regard, our new-wavers can be taken as the propagators of our fundamental social relations rather than as their critics, as is the case with most of British punks. Judging by their lyrics, our punks are inspired by social deformations of an utterly different kind. The stench that intoxicates our new-wavers springs from a gap — often the chasms — wedged between the proclaimed strivings of our society and the everyday practice. ... For the very first time we have a critique of an individual-proclaimed ideals-society deformation, and this ought to be an exemplar followed by our mass-culture as a whole. Rock of this kind ought to be cherished by all social structures, but, unfortunately, to our media guardians of order and quiet even the most constructive opposition appears as a diversion. Once you hear a new-wave band on the radio and television, you'll know that a great step towards the democratization of mass culture has been made. (Fras 1978f: 15)

In many respects, the *New Wave* did realize Fras' hopes (and implicit expectations)

— it did democratize the nature of Yugoslav (mass-)culture and the dominant mode of cultural understanding and acceptance. The persistent and conspicuous presence of the *New Wave* forced the (mass-)cultural institutional venues to open up to rock-music and youth culture and accept them as not only tolerable but fundamentally legitimate dimensions of the Yugoslav cultural spectrum. In a relatively short time-span, newspapers and revue press added rock-music columns, important rock-music magazines sprang up, radio-stations offered programs that centered on rock'n'roll and all that was current in rock-music, television-stations added new rock-music contents and offered rock'n'roll a 'media space of its own'. In a word, things changed radically and irrevocably. But perhaps even more importantly, the *New Wave* altered the nature of Yugoslav cultural consciousness by integrating rock-music into the official — or dominant — socio-cultural discourse and establishing rock as its constitutive component-part. Because of the *New Wave*, rock'n'roll became something to think about, something to wrestle with, something to understand, and, something to develop an attitude toward. Rock-music after the *New Wave* simply could not be ignored, or avoided, in the public life of Yugoslav society, and this forced everyone who felt as (or wanted to be) a part of public dialogue to incorporate rock'n'roll into their 'cognitive portfolio'. Needless to say, the broadening of institutional and discursive boundaries of Yugoslav culture and society was by no means a non-problematic matter without opposition, resistance, or (occasional) dismissive hostility — not at all (Chapter 3 discusses some of these). However, despite this, and despite initial odds, the *New Wave* did manage to pull off (popular-) cultural revolution of a sort and, in doing so, irrevocably alter — or, minimally, shake up — the official society's regard for rock-music and all that rock'n'roll as the 'music of commitment' ultimately stood for. And that by any measure is not a small feat.

To conclude, the centrality of *New Wave* in the history of Yugoslav popular culture and society has to do with the fact that the movement was about much more than music — it was about "revolutionizing" Yugoslav youth's means of cultural expression and, through it, their relationship to the world. And this, in the final analysis, is what makes it so foundational for everything that follows.

CHAPTER 6

The *New Primitives*: 'Anarchy All Over Baščaršija'[110]

The substantive turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll in the late 1970's radically and irrevocably changed the understanding of the possibilities and ultimate application(s) of popular music in the context of society's socio-cultural sphere. The *New Wave*'s poetics of the real posited engagement as the essence of an authentic rock'n'roll expression and 'geo-emotional realism' as its only acceptable idiomatic mode. In this context, rock music was redefined as a form of socio-cultural interventionism whose aim was to express the realities of the here-and-now from the viewpoint of a clearly identifiable and recognizable socio-cultural position and location. The grounding point of it all was the notion that the essence of rock'n'roll was in its existential substance rather than in anything else.

The importance of *New Wave* cannot be overstated for it not only defined the new way of understanding of rock-music as a socio-cultural *praxis* but also

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[110] Baščaršija is Sarajevo's old merchant district located in the heart of the city.

influenced the future course of Yugoslav rock'n'roll and the music movements that followed: *New Primitives* and *New Partisans*. *New Wave* was simply the watershed in the history of Yugoslav rock music and, more broadly, popular culture, and everything that took place in the post-*New Wave* era of the 1980's one way or another ether continued, extended or referenced the legacy of the movement's momentous achievements. In many respects, the foundation of *New Primitives* — the movement I wish to discuss in this chapter — can be thought of as the logical extension of the principal tenets of *New Wave* and the ultimate application of the latter's central 'philosophical postulates'. Like the *New Wave*, the *New Primitives* took the immediacy of one's societal circumstance(s) as the starting point of its expressiveness, but gave it specific socio-cultural and even historical contours and connotations. Like the *New Wave*, the *New Primitives* insisted on real, direct, and unpolished language as the only credible means of expressing one's societal being in the world, but gave its linguistic idiom a definitive grounding in the 'language of the street' of a specific socio-historical urban locale. Like the *New Wave*, the *New Primitives* took as axiomatic the premise that its socio-cultural *praxis* ought to figure as an outlet for the 'invisible segments of society', but it gave these a precise and unequivocally local(ized) specificity. Thus, while both the *New Wave* and the *New Primitives* took the urban as a thematic, idiomatic, and linguistic foundation of their particular rock'n'roll sensibility, the *New Primitives* de-universalized that urban into concrete topographic, lexicographic, and sociographic specificities of the 'real-existing' *milieu* of Sarajevo. In doing so, the *New Primitives* effectively hybridized the *New Wave*'s poetics of the real as unique 'poetic of the local'.

On a broader and more general plane, the 'elective affinities' between the *New Wave* and the *New Primitives* were reflected in their relationship to the common socio-cultural catalyst: the British punk movement. If, as we have seen in Chapter 5, the Yugoslav *New Wave* was an 'appropriation' of British punk movement and its reworking in terms of the local socio-political concerns and demands, the *New Primitives* was Sarajevo's response to punk — or, as one of its important figures Goran Petranović Rizo put it, "an authentic answer of multiethnic Yugoslavia and its most multiethnic part of Bosnia & Herzegovina to the most rebellious subcultural youth movement of the 20th century" (in Jelisavčić 2000: 3). The authenticity of the

New Primitives was in the fact that, following the cultural orientation of punk, the movement gave voice (or, perhaps more adequately, face) to those segments of Yugoslavia's cultural spectrum either deemed peripheral or outrightly dismissed as (to put it crudely) 'societal trash'. The crucial difference between punk and the *New Primitives*, however, was the manner in which the rebellion against the cultural establishment took form. While for punk the principal anti-establishment weapon were aggressive music and explicitly inflammatory lyrics packaged in a 'filthy' visual image, the main armament of *New Primitives* was a somewhat discordant mélange of classic rock'n'roll, reworked country music and 'local blues' (*sevdah* — a genre of traditional folk music with predominantly sorrowful themes), and a peculiar brand of humor unique to Sarajevo (characterized by perceptive and wittily crafted observations about everyday life) visually 'stylized' as a new-primitive crossover between the local 'hoodlum' outcasts and the 'invisible strata' of underdogs. In this context, the *New Primitives* used the vantage point of Sarajevo's socio-cultural *milieu* to offer somewhat satirical but poignantly effective reflections on what were perceived as the 'aberrations' in the local and national dynamics of cultural life in Yugoslav society, and to bring to light through the movement's 'conspicuous musings' the marginal and, for the most part, ignored aspects of Yugoslavia's socio-cultural realities. Thus, the cultural resistance of *New Primitives* centered on challenging the boundaries of Yugoslavia's cultural project by rebelling against the cultural vision that branded a significant segment of society as culturally marginal and (therefore) socially insignificant. In this sense, the *New Primitives*' poetics of the local were a protest-assault on Yugoslav society's cultural hypocrisy.

In this chapter I want to take a detailed look at *New Primitives* and its poetics of the local in light of what Zildžo (in n/a 1990: 4) identifies as the movement's essential aspects: reexamination of local identity through an attempt to explain one's being with one's own language and through one's own, non-imposed, frames of reference; and radical demystification and demythologization of one's immediate socio-cultural *milieu* through the use of local iconographic and lexicographic elements. I will explore these through the following: teasing out the specificities of 'Sarajevo factor' and reflecting on its importance for the rise of the *New Primitives*; discussing the impact of Emir Kusturica on the shaping of the movement's poetic of the local; dealing with the general principles of the *New Primitives*' 'philosophical' and normative foundations; and taking a detailed look at the two most important exemplars of the movement's socio-cultural *praxis* — Elvis J. Kurtović and *Zabranjeno pušenje*. By the end of my excursus on *New Primitives* I hope to have demonstrated the movement's centrality not only in radically reorienting the local socio-cultural dynamic of the Sarajevo *milieu* but also in challenging, and having an indispensable impact on, the formation of national social and cultural life.

Let me begin with the first 'piece of the puzzle' — the 'Sarajevo factor'.

Sarajevo: The Spirit of 'Dark Vilayet[111]'

In many respects, the origin of *New Primitives* is tied to the nature of the socio-cultural climate of Sarajevo — the capital of Bosnia & Herzegovina and the movement's place of birth. Most of the *New Primitives*' 'philosophical postulates' were one way or another informed by the spirit of Sarajevo and by a particular understanding of the city's socio-cultural relationship to the rest of the country. Thus, to say that there is an intimate connection between the movement of *New Primitives* and the city of Sarajevo means that through its ideas, music and overall presentation the former was reflecting the essence of the latter's socio-cultural delineations. It also implies that one was projecting itself through the other and that the two became enmeshed in a symbiotic relation.

The first aspect of Sarajevo — its spirit — is informed by the city's geography and the region's history. Wedged within the Dinaric Alps mountain range in the heart of Bosnia and Herzegovina and surrounded by heavily forested hills and mountains, the city was established in 1461 as an administrative center of the Ottoman Empire's Bosnia Province. For the next five centuries Sarajevo was maturing into an ever-more important cultural and political center of the Empire's Western corner and a place whose socio-cultural formation grew out of the confluence of the civilizational traditions of the East and the West, the encounters of diverse spiritual forces and religious communities, and the convergence of peoples' multiplex ethnic, cultural, and national distinctions. Together, the mélange of the richly diverse but, ultimate, concordantly complementary historical influences and concrete realities of daily life gave the city a unique spirit of intermingled "mysticism and magic of the Orient, gentlemanliness and aesthetic of the West, the Slavic feel of cheerfulness, and the temperament of the South" (Lošić in Stevanović 1990: 49). Its practical essence was informed by the attitudes of openness, acceptance and tolerance, and the practices of pragmatic accommodation, and balanced and harmonious coexistence. This was the very foundation of Sarajevo's *mentalité* and, more broadly, the *Weltanschauung* of its peoples. The statements made by the *New Primitives*' Elvis J. Kurtović and *Bijelo dugme*'s Goran Bregović are effective illustrations here:

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[111] 'Vilayet' is an Arabic-derived word for one of the chief administrative divisions in Turkey. In Bosnian context, it refers to an administrative province within the Ottoman Empire.

> As a multinational environment, Sarajevo represents the highest possible degree of integration to be expected from the people. The relationships between different nations are balanced out naturally, without too many of any group, which would allow it to harass others. (Kurtović in Jalovčić 1990: 39)
>
> Besides, when one grows up in Sarajevo one cannot have exclusionist tendencies possible in other places; to grow up among Serbs, Croats, and Muslims prevents you from going astray. I even believe that it is the same way in Yugoslavia: [a]ll of us have been intermixed for quite some time - especially in Sarajevo! (Bregović in Loza 1990a: 36)

The central aspect of Sarajevo's *mentalité* is an understanding that the city's spirit is a rather unique preciosity that not only defines the *conscience collective* of its populace but also shapes the character of one's individual and collective sense. In addition, it is an awareness that, being unique and atypical within the overall socio-cultural structure of the country, the spirit of Sarajevo ought to be guarded and protected against the potential destructive threats from within and/or without. Saša Lošić's observation about the dangers of nationalistic divisiveness to the spirit of Sarajevo is very telling in this regard:

> I have been suggesting for a long time to build a wall around Sarajevo — something like the Great Wall of China — to simply conserve our spirit, because I don't know how long Sarajevo will be able to bear this sort of unhealthy atmosphere. I feel that Sarajevo's spirit is more and more enveloped by fear. I believe that Sarajevo still struggles against stupidity, but I am afraid that that struggle is a struggle for rescuing the very spirit of Sarajevo. People who made up Sarajevo and its spirit are getting

> drowned in the river of newcomers. (Lošić in Stevanović 1990: 49)

Despite the uniqueness of its socio-cultural spirit, the cultural *milieu* of Sarajevo was, for all practical purposes, the great unknown within in the socio-cultural fabric of Yugoslav society. While Belgrade and Zagreb, as the two principal socio-cultural centers, had their 'cultural stamps' firmly imprinted in just about any region of the country, Sarajevo's image was that of a 'dark vilayet' — i.e. the place from which, with a few notable exceptions, nothing culturally significant ever comes. If Sarajevo was know to the 'outside world' it was primarily through, as Todorović (1985c: 26) puts it, "the jokes about Mujo and Haso, the aroma of chevapi[112], and the sound of *Bijelo dugme*". These stood for the general socio-cultural points of reference in Sarajevo's relationship to the rest of the county, or — perhaps more accurately — in the country's relationship to, and perception of, Sarajevo.

At the root of the city's 'cultural invisibility' was a center/periphery relationship that Sarajevo had with the country's principal cultural metropoles, the source of which was the cultural-inferiority complex ingrained in the collective mind of the local official cultural authorities. Simply put, Sarajevo was different from the other major and culturally relevant urban centers of the county, and that difference did not sit well with the city's cultural scene and its understanding of what the true/genuine culture was supposed to be like. Compared to the cultural parameters of Zagreb and Belgrade, Sarajevo's cultural offerings were perceived as not sophisticated enough and lacking the luster of the 'veritable culture'. In other words, they were seen as "primitive" and therefore as something that ought to be either hidden from the Yugoslav cultural eyes or respecified so as to conform to the officially accepted and recognized cultural mould. Not only were Sarajevo's cultural realities taken as the sources of uncomfortable cultural inferiority, but the language itself (i.e. the way the city and its people communicated in their daily lives) was considered a cultural anomaly to be rectified through aggressive linguistic interventionism by the local cultural authorities. As Zildžo puts it:

> Sarajevo, i.e. Sarajevo's cultural scene, despised and characterized as primitive any attempt to incorporate linguistic

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[112] Bosnian meat delicacy.

> realities of the city into the media, or even to use it in the spoken arts. … It was the case of some sort of shame before the fact of one's own distinctiveness, often so obvious that it could be negated only by a sort of militant spirit. The writers were using "pure" literary language, or some form of the numerous home-grown variations …, dialogues in prose were dry and empty as if they were conversations of idle native-language teachers rather than of literary heroes; simply, the language of the city was exiled from the public scene and, with it, its cultural specificities with their (rather rough) features anathematized.[113] (Zildžo in n/a 1990: 24)

The consequence of 'linguistic and, more broadly, cultural purges' within the Sarajevo *milieu* was a cultural 'double life' which relegated the authentic in the local socio-cultural universe to the sphere of 'dark peripherality' while elevating the inauthentic(ally forced) to the realm of 'illuminating grotesque'. Its ultimate message was that the way one is is not the way one ought to be, and that, in order to be, one needs to alter who (and where) one is. Hence the image of Sarajevo as the 'dark vilayet' — the place that, because of its 'cultural peculiarity', cannot offer anything substantial to the wider cultural community, and whose contributions are therefore possible only in the form of either ironed-out cultural ruggedness or sympathetically inconsequential pseudo-culture. Not only was this the image through which the country — if it was noticing it at all — framed its regard for Sarajevo's socio-cultural *milieu*, but also the prism that filtered the latter's regard of itself.

In the view of Abdulah Sidran, to consider Sarajevo in terms of its spirit and its socio-cultural *mentalité* is to effectively differentiate between two Sarajevos: the trans-historical, and the practical-public (Sidran in Joković 1986a: 38). The former has to do with Sarajevo as a "metaphysical congregation of the local Balkan collective destinies, traditions, cultures, emotions and mentalities"; the latter is the notion of Sarajevo as manifested in all variety of public cultural discourse . For Sidran, the key contribution and legacy of the *New Primitives* along with all the cultural fermenting the movement generated lies in the radical altering the practical-public Sarajevo profile and in the irreversible change in the city's socio-cultural regard for itself and its socio-cultural relationship to the rest of the country. Using the trans-historical Sarajevo as its focal artistic springboard, the *New Primitives* unashamedly revealed the essence of Sarajevo's true spirit and soul to the rest of Yugoslavia, and, in doing so, effectively proclaimed 'this is who we are and we are proud of it'. With the *New Primitives*, Sarajevo's linguistic, cultural, and sociographic peculiarities were transformed from the source of discomfort and shame into the source of pride and affirmation of local individual and collective identities. The ultimate effect of the movement's socio-cultural *praxis*, thus, was in giving the city its own, and previously non-existent, unique 'cultural stamp' and, in this, forging its new — more complex and, at the same time, more expressive — cultural identity as a meaningful and now inalienable 'brick in Yugoslavia's cultural wall'.

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[113] On the 'problem' of Sarajevo's actors and local language, Branko Đurić, one of the key members of *New Primitives'* television troupe *Top-list of Surrealists* observes the following:

> Belgrade and Zagreb speech is, I could say, in a way official. When in a classical theater piece one speaks in Belgrade or Zagreb accent you find it normal. That is in a way literary language. Ours sounds awful in these classical pieces. So the most difficult thing is that we have to pay much more attention to the way we speak. … Even now I'm trying to speak in a literary way, but no matter how much I try, you can feel that it doesn't come naturally. That is the biggest handicap for us Bosnian actors. Because of this we are called to be in a Zagreb or Belgrade film only when we need to play a Bosnian. It is very seldom otherwise. (Đurić in Kos and Pavić 1987: 10)

What he is pointing to is a professional consequence of the inferior regard for 'Sarajevo dialect', entrenched within the authoritative mind of cultural establishment.

At the root of *New Primitives'* artistic engagement — embodied in the poetics of the local — was an active relationship with the city and a turning to one's own socio-cultural essence as the source of artistic inspiration and the foundation of artistic expressiveness. In many important respects, Emir Kusturica's 1981 film *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell* (*Do You Remember, Dolly Bell?*) was the first, and perhaps most important, indication of the awakening of Sarajevo's new socio-cultural conscience, encapsulated by the *New Primitives* poetics of the local.

Emir Kusturica: 'A Drama in Socialist Society'

Emir Kusturica's 1981 directorial debut *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell* was an announcement of the shifting socio-cultural dynamic in Sarajevo's *milieu* and a key precursor to the ensuing cultural fermentation and everything that would come to full fruition with the affirmation of the *New Primitives*. Centered around the themes of coming of age, life in a working-class family, and the realities of a young socialist society, Kusturica's film offered a radically new picture of Sarajevo's socio-cultural universe, its protagonists, and their individual (and collective) destinies within a larger historical-political moment. The central characters of *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell* are people on the margins of society whose lives unravel in a universe hidden from the eyes and ears of the 'society proper', and whose fates are informed by the marginality of their individual and collective existences. The film's principal character, Dino, is a teenager growing up in the hills of Sarajevo's periphery among the pack of 'conspicuously non-conventional' peers (disprivileged social outcasts, petty thieves and criminals, and outright losers); his father — the family's patriarch — is a manager of a local cafeteria and a man to whom life has not been all too kind, but who, despite all the hardships, maintains a firm belief in the idea(l) of communism and the inevitability of its coming. Dino's family is a 'social(ist) microcosm' whose existence — delimited by father's firm patriarchal values and his equally staunch 'communist pedagogy' — shifts between the reality of day-to-day struggles to make ends meet and the dream of a better life in the state-allotted apartment housing in the 'new Sarajevo'. For all of them, the immediate and larger socio-cultural *milieu* is a self-contained universe with its own rules, values, principles and norms, and a place which, although clearly defined through its relationship with the 'real society', regards the realities of the 'real world' of Sarajevo valley as a distant light flickering atop of the newly erected high-rises (one of the crucial scenes that reoccurs throughout the film at all key points of the narrative). The marginality of their existence, thus, is informed by their invisibility and peripherality in relation to the society proper, and their position outside of 'circles of influence' that crucially shape and, in the end, determine the destinies of everyday ordinary people.

The new moment that Kusturica introduces with *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell* is a new artistic aesthetic whose essential ingredients are a clear focus of the local, and a direct and unembellished treatment of the real and specific aspects of life in Sarajevo's periphery. Central to this is the principle of 'not running away from oneself', predicated on two fundamentals: (1) building one's artistic universe by starting from one's most immediate social setting — a home — and broadening it to neighborhood, community, and society at large; and (2) defining yourself from the viewpoint of your own socio-cultural *milieu*, with all its characteristics and specificities, and building that into your sense of consciousness and identity as an individual, social, cultural and historical being (in Aleksić 1985: 21). Thus, the characters in *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell* are unequivocally local in that they live and exist in the particular and explicitly defined socio-cultural locale, use its 'living language' in all if its unsophisticated coarseness, and exhibit all the flaws, shortcomings, and charms ascribed to them by their 'actually existing' living *milieu* (Kusturica shot the film on real locations and used many non-actors who, through their characters, essentially played themselves and spoke the way they ordinarily do). The parameters of their consciousness are one way or another filtered through the family as a social setting in which they not only get to understand themselves and their relationship to others but also define their connection to the 'world out there'. Dino's relationship to his father and their discussions about communism and the 'conscious auto-suggestion' of hypnosis are the principal venues through which he develops the sense of himself and his own idea(l)s about society. In Kusturica's view, it is only through acknowledging the local and facing it with the 'clear and sober senses' that one gains the ability to authenticate oneself as a true and actually existing self (i.e. as a social subject) devoid of the falsehoods of externally imposed frames of references. And that, in the end, is what the aesthetic of 'not running away from oneself' is ultimately all about.

On a broader plane, Kusturica's 'artistic localism' is grounded in his general philosophical stance which posits that a true art (i.e. a meaningful artistic endeavor) ought to be a form of socio-cultural engagement whose relevance is derived from its reflexive examinations of the daily realities of life in a socialist society. In Kusturica's view, art ought not be a 'beautification mirror' that reflects its object in a 'dolled up' (that is, distorted and unrealistic) fashion, but an honest and unabashedly realistic capturing of what he calls the 'drama in socialist society'. For Kusturica, essential to faithfully reflecting and capturing the essence of that drama is the artist turning to what he is most intimately familiar with — his immediate everyday surrounding, at the center of which is family life. As he puts it:

> We who are not in the underground mines and do not mine — where do we see and feel [the drama in socialist society]? We see it in the family, in human beings, in a relationship between the family and society.... It is on these margins that the drama in socialist societies — our own included — actually takes place. (Kusturica in Aleksić 1985: 21)

For Kusturica, therefore, art's central preoccupation ought to be exploring the peripheral segments of society and the ways in which their relationship to the 'world out there' reflects, and affects, the dynamic of their everyday realities and the ultimate course of both individual and collective human destinies. 'Periphery', in this context, implies two distinct meanings: the marginality in relation to 'circles of influence' that fundamentally shape ordinary people's societal 'being in the world'; and, the reality of existing outside the 'officially sanctioned mode of life' within a specific socio-cultural *milieu* and therefore being invisible and peripheral to the 'real'. It is probing of the drama of the periphery thus understood that, in Kusturica's mind, makes art useful, socially relevant, and meaningful cultural endeavor.

For Kusturica, the essence of 'artistic localism' and its central premise of 'directing the life as it happens' ought never be mere 'exploring the periphery for exploration's sake' but rather a revealing of the complex ways in which the culture of the periphery and its marginality within the larger socio-cultural micro- and macro-fabrics of 'society proper' point to the essential tensions in the periphery/center relationship. At its most immediate, the centrality of the marginal figures as a strategic device for demystifying the local by debunking stereotypes through depictions of truth, and, through this, authenticating the forms of experience and identity inferiorized by the mainstream culture. More broadly, 'bringing the periphery to the center' operates as a method of (re)examining and thus challenging the official cultural model of Yugoslav society by exposing its fundamental contradictions and revealing the contradictory effects that its particular cultural parameters generate within the microcosms and macrocosms of the 'actually existing' society. In their ultimate consequence, both aspects of 'artistic localism' stand as the artistic affirmations of the local as the real center of one's socio-cultural universe and, by extension, as the celebrations of 'localism' as the source of one's genuine identity and, in the final instance, subjectivity. In this, they function as a form of resistance against the normativity of the officially-sanctioned 'cultural occupation' which asserts itself by way of denying the real(-local) the dignity of its existence. For Kusturica, the substance of the rebelliousness of the 'localist artistic aesthetic' is in the ability to firmly stand one's ground and declare without reserve: 'this is what and who we really are, and we are not ashamed of it'.

The importance of Kusturica's *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell* and the new artistic aesthetic the film ushered in cannot be overstated. In many respects both are the catalyst for Sarajevo's socio-cultural renaissance and at the root of much, if not all, cultural fermentation that would culminate in the movement of the *New Primitives*. In Hadžidedić's (1984b) view, all of the *New Primitives* (with the possible exception of *Elvis J. Kurtovich & His Meteors*) can in some fashion be traced back to Kusturica's film and its aesthetic, which provided the movement with the foundational 'philosophical anchorage' and the necessary artistic orientation. Hadžidedić's argument is echoed by Nele Karajlić, the front man of *Zabranjeno pušenje* (*No Smoking*), who sees Kusturica's main influence on the *New Primitives* in introducing a new aesthetic for grounding of a "new-primitive" form of thinking (Karajlić in Popović 1989: 7), and in validating and 'publicizing' the kind of thinking that fermented in the early days of the movement in the anonymity of the *New Primitives* workshop, the basement "Zaborav" ("Oblivion"). As he puts it:

> Kusturica came in as someone who showed us that there were more people who thought like us. That was stimulating for further work…. It's like, you are working on a thing and digging in anonymity, and all of a sudden you see a film that projects everything you are doing in rock'n'roll.

On a larger cultural plane, the sense of importance of Kusturica's *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell* for Sarajevo's cultural reawakening is expressed most directly by the film's principal screenwriter Abdulah Sidran:

> If Sarajevo, after the success of "Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell" does not produce within the next few years at least a dozen great screenwriters and two or three young directors; we haven't done anything. The film will gather dust on some shelf and every few years somebody would remember to screen it. And that'll be all. (Sidran in Džamonja 1981b: 13)

In Sidran's view, the film was simply too important not to have an impact, and where it could do most was in reenergizing Sarajevo's cultural scene and stimulating the 'new wave' of local artistic output. In many respects, Sidran's anticipation proved to be true since a few years after Kusturica's film put Sarajevo on the Yugoslav and international cultural map[114], the city would enter its 'golden cultural age' and experience an unprecedented outburst of artistic creativity anchored in the *New Primitives* poetics of the local. Its overall socio-cultural effect and its lasting cultural legacy would, in the final score, be the tearing asunder of Sarajevo's image as the 'dark vilayet' and forging a new identity of the city's socio-cultural *milieu* as an autochthonous and now inalienable 'brick in Yugoslavia's cultural wall'.

New Primitives*: The 'Punks' of Sarajevo*

The late-1970's 'new wave' of Yugoslav rock'n'roll saw the rise of 'new rock forces' and rapid burgeoning of rock-scenes in the principal urban centers of Yugoslavia. Zagreb, most prominently, became the epicenter of *New Wave* 'fever' and the hallmark of all new music and cultural developments and experiments: 'the music was coming from the basements and the roofs, and the whole city was dancing like crazy', sang Zagreb's *Film* during the heydays of *New Wave*.

While Zagreb might have indeed been singing, dancing and rocking it out, things in Sarajevo looked quite different and echoed much more the state of affairs of the pre- and early-*New Wave* Belgrade than any other urban centre in the country. The city appeared to be all but dead musically and culturally, with no new 'rock'n'roll blood' in sight, no distinct or even developed local rock-scene, and no noticeable cultural indications that the *New Wave* 'winds of change' had blown into the Sarajevo valley. Sarajevo at the turn of the eighth decade of the twentieth century felt as if time-capsuled in its own popular-cultural vacuum. The feeling of 'dead calm' and a sense of outdatedness that permeated the city's cultural-music scene was effectively captured by Arslanagić's 1981 commentary:

> When during 1977-78 the real things in rock-music were happening between Ljubljana-Rijeka-Zagreb, Sarajevo was deep-sleeping somewhere between the rotten heavy metal and bland and tasteless chansons. When in 1980 Belgrade took over the primacy of Yugoslavia's rock-centre, the city got three-to-four bands who, at least a bit, stood out from the dead calm[.]… When we got the first punk graffiti on our streets, the city fathers were asking

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[114] In 1981, *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell* won the Golden Lion for Best First Work and FIPRESCI (The International Federation of Film Critics) award at the renowned Venice Film Festival. In 1982, the film won the Critic Award at São Paulo International Film Festival.

> in amazement and with indignation: "Is there actually someone doing that in Sarajevo". And the ill-wishers were remarking: "We got Punk in '81". And what did Sarajevo have before '80? In our city the most rudimentary rock concert is still a spectacle of the year, while Zagreb, Belgrade and others have rock concerts every day[.] … If some things in Sarajevo rock'n'roll are rotten to the bone, why shouldn't we change it? (Arslanagić 1981: 15)

Clearly, there was a sense that Sarajevo was trailing behind in a big way and that it was high time for an 'action in the city'. In light of the rock'n'roll revolution and new cultural spirit of *New Wave*, things simply could not remain as they were. To many, and primarily to the younger generation of the city's cultural public, it felt like the time for Sarajevo's 'cultural revolution' has come. The problem, however, was the absence of apparent 'cultural agitators'. Or so it appeared.

One of the first indications that, after all, there was something new and important going on in Sarajevo was heralded in 1981. In his article published in Zagreb's *Polet*, Fikret Mujčić pointed to 'underground revitalization' of the city's music-cultural scene: SLIVKA (*Sarajevska lokalno instrumentalna vitaminizacija sa Koševa*. As he observed SLIVKA — 'Sarajevo's local-instrumental vitaminization from Koševo' — was the project of a 'new wave' of Sarajevo's rock-generation and an attempt to articulate the new spirit of the city on the basis of a cultural reflex grounded in the socio-cultural particularities of Sarajevo's locale. In Mujčić's view, the importance of SLIVKA was in the fact that its principal source of cultural inspiration came from 'within' rather than from 'without' — i.e. that it drew upon the local rather than the external as the foundation for its particular 'socio-cultural vision'. At the time of the article, the SLIVKA was a little-known and clearly marginal phenomenon on Sarajevo's cultural scene, but, as it will turn out, the phenomenon that would radically and irrevocably alter the city's socio-cultural *conscience collective*. For what Mujčić was referring to were the roots of what would explode a couple of years later, first locally and then 'trans-locally', as the movement of the *New Primitives*.

The history of *New Primitives* began on January 21, 1980, the official opening of the basement "Zaborav" in one of Koševo's residential buildings. According to Nele Karajlić, the front man of *Zabranjeno pušenje*, "forming of 'Zaborav' as our Mecca was a historical moment for the development of the *New Primitives*: the date

21.01.1980 is written on its wall, because it was then that we started something" (in Brezarić 1985b: 26). The basement was the key meeting point for all interested in new ideas, new ways of thinking, new music, and artistic and cultural experiments: it was the place where most of what would become part of the *New Primitives* philosophy was initially conceptualized. In addition, "Zaborav" was used as a testing ground for everything that came out of the 'collective mind' of its tenants, and a space for initial artistic exhibitions, theater performances, and music shows (*Zabranjeno pušenje*, the principal force of *New Primitives*, played its first show in "Zaborav"). The basement's 'open concept' (everyone was welcome) provided important grounds for the free flow and exchange of ideas and the shaping of 'collective artistic force' that would eventually carry out the 'new wave' of Sarajevo's rock'n'roll and, more broadly, redefine the nature of the city's popular-cultural scene.

Despite all of its importance, the principal shortcoming of "Zaborav" was the fact that, as a cultural space, it was hidden and away from Sarajevo's public eyes and, for all practical purposes, all but invisible. People who frequented the basement and worked on the underground revitalization of the city inhabited their own cultural universe and were a 'hemisphere onto themselves'. Although gradually the number of patrons and active participants increased and grew to a respectable size, "Zaborav" was essentially a 'Koševo thing' (Koševo is one of Sarajevo's districts) that registered only within a fairly local radius. Key for wider impact and influence was 'leaving the basement' — or, perhaps more accurately, bringing "Zaborav" to Sarajevo — and publicly promoting the new ideas and new music. Towards the very end of 1980, "Zaborav"'s principal rock-force, *Zabranjeno pušenje*, performed its very first shows to a wider Sarajevo audience and established itself as one of the most prominent and promising young bands. In the course of the next few years, the increased presence of 'Koševo artistic forces' within the city's cultural circuits became the principal means of publicizing the new musico-cultural spirit, and, on a larger plane, the key ingredient for the shaping of Sarajevo's new rock-scene (see, for example, Palameta 1982e). The cumulative impact, as Palameta's comment makes it evident, was substantively transformative:

> Several things characteristic of the present moment in Sarajevo's rock support the thesis that things are changing

> fundamentally. First, we got a string of stylistically-diverse groups … with enthusiasm — uncharacteristic for the previous period, which is luckily now behind us — as their common denominator. Second, the opening of new performance spaces: concerts are becoming a common daily thing and the way things stand right now the biggest dilemma will soon be 'where to go?'.[115] (Palameta 1982d: 14)

The crowning event that signaled the completion of both — affirmation of the 'Koševo cultural revolution' and revitalization of Sarajevo's rock-scene — was the grand unofficial promotion of *New Primitives* on March 8th, 1983, organized in the heart of Sarajevo. True to "Zaborav"'s principle of 'open participation', the event was a no-charge affair with free food and drinks, and the music by *Plavi orkestar*, *Muharem and Anjur*, and the movement's principal proponents *Zabranjeno pušenje* and *Elvis J. Kurtovich & His Meteors* (for Elvis J. Kurtović's recollections of the event, see Jalovčić 1990: 38; see also Lalović 1984).

Another important aid in the affirmation of "Zaborav"'s *Weltanschauung* was a 15-minute weekly slot on a radio-program PRIMUS (*Priča i muzika subotom*), called *Top lista nadrealista* (*Top-list of Surrealists*)[116]. Run since 1981 by the four representatives of 'Koševo cultural guerilla' (Nele, Zenit, Zlaja, and Saša) the program — conceptualized as a satirical week-in-review — used a unique brand of Sarajevo humor as a springboard for the witty commentaries on everyday problems of ordinary people and a platform for presenting to its audience 'life in a different light'. According to Boro Kontić (the program's editor in chief), the fundamental importance of *Top lista nadrealista* was in figuring a polygon for filtering and polishing the ideas worked on in anonymity for 6-7 years, and a testing ground for some of the songs that would become the bedrock of *New Primitives* music repertoire (see interviews with Kontić in Briski 1984b; Milanović 1984b). In addition, the program was crucial in exposing a wider audience to the 'new cultural spirit' of Sarajevo (*Top lista nadrealista* was heard throughout Bosnia & Herzegovina), thus preparing the terrain for the *New Primitives* all-out 'blitzkrieg' on the national cultural scene. By the time the movement came to its full fruition, its principal 'ideological stands' and 'philosophical postulates' were already a well-established aspect of both local and 'tans-local' cultural scene and, therefore, something that the public could readily respond to or identify with.

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[115] The centrality of 'Koševo factor' in the whole process is expressed most unequivocally by Sarajevo's rock-critic Ognjen Tvrtković (in Sarajlić 1983: 15): 'The history of new Sarajevo rock-scene begins with *Zabranjeno pušenje*, the band that had its first concert at the end of 1980. Everything that happened before them is now completely irrelevant.

[116] By the mid-1980s, the show would move to the television and give the nation-wide audience a taste of 'Sarajevo's surrealism'. Modeled on *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, the TV-version of *Top lista nadrealista* will quickly become the most popular comedy program ever.

As with Kusturica's new artistic sensibility, the essence of the *New Primitives* unique poetic, forged out in "Zaborav" and propagated through music and a unique brand of humor, was in turning to oneself and one's most immediate socio-cultural universe as the foundation for coming to terms with one's individual and collective 'being in the world'. As Nele Karajlić puts it:

> Listen, when you touch the surroundings, you touch the essence[.] I was surrounded with two things: the class IV 10, which had its own thing — its own basketball players, its own hashishers, quasi-intellectuals and musicians; and Koševo, the place I drew all the details from, starting from Hakija, father Atif and Sejo. Both of these are felt today very strongly... And lastly, Sarajevo... That is the environment we started from and our whole thing is the thing of our surroundings. (in Brezarić 1985b: 27)

The centrality of the local had two strategic functions: authentication of one's own identity in light of one's everyday reality and experiences; and affirmation of one's own *milieu* as the basis for one's socio-cultural purviews and the foundation of one's attitude towards the 'world out there'. For the *New Primitives*, therefore, the local was important because it defined who one is, where one fits in the world and how one relates to that world — i.e. because it delimited one's individual and collective *mentalité*. On a broader plane, focus on the local was strategically important for gauging the nature of a larger socio-cultural universe and forming an attitude regarding its essential normative principles. Thus, the *New Primitives*' poetics of the local was a way for (re)examining not only one's own character but also that of general culture that dictated the frameworks for understanding the personal (and collective) self. Its aim, therefore, was the demystification of oneself, one's environment, and one's overall socio-cultural universe.

The initial impetus for *New Primitives* poetics of the local was ironization of all sorts of Western cultural trends (such as, New Romanticism, New Collectivism, etc.)

accepted uncritically by the local cultural public. Obsession with Western cultural fads by people whose personal and socio-cultural disposition had nothing in common with these was seen as an indication of socio-cultural *malaise* and a manifestation of acute cultural aberration. 'Primitivism', in this context, was employed as a means of socio-cultural critique of the Western cultural encroachment and, on a larger cultural plane, a platform for an advocacy of authentic local values and a return to what is indigenous to one's socio-cultural being. As Elvis J. Kurtović explains it (in Lalović 1984: 68), 'new primitivism' was not a new form of estrangement — i.e. yet another cultural fad — but "a grand return to the statements from our birth certificates where it says that we are descendents of a particular person who lived in a specific place". Its very essence, therefore, was a return to an authentic local tradition, without a denial — however — of the values of modern life. What 'new primitivism' saw as fundamentally problematic with the 'contemporary human condition' was the alienating effect of modern life rather than modern life as such. In this context, its ultimate aim was de-alienation through re-invocation of the more humane forms of relationships to oneself and to others — essential to authentic local traditionalism — and their re-insertion into everyday ways of 'being in the world'. As Kurtović puts it:

> new primitives, of course, do not wish to denegate today's life — tramways and buses which we have to speed us up and get us to our work places as fast as possible — but they wish to point out that the best camaraderie is still at the parties where the tables are full of burek[117] and booze. If you don't believe me, let me ask you something: you, who live in the 20-floor high-rise, please tell me the name of your neighbor who lives on the floor above you? (in Lalović 1984: 68)

To be 'primitive', thus, was not to be anti-modern but to be modern in an authentically local way. For Kurtović, its essence was the development of a proper consciousness which prioritizes the autochthonous as the basis for affirming oneself, one's relationship to others, and one's place (with)in the larger socio-cultural *milieu*. Therefore, 'new primitivism' as a form of conscientized primitivism and *New Primitives*[118] as its most vocal proponent.

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[117] Bosnian meat pie-like delicacy.

[118] According to Lošić (in Palameta 1983c), a better name for the movement perhaps would have

If ironization of Western fads within the local socio-cultural *milieu* was the grounding premise of *New Primitives*, its grounding point was ironic disposition towards 'old (that is, original) primitivism'. The guiding premise was the notion that the most efficient way to accentuate the centrality of the local would be to appropriate the mannerisms and 'Weltanschauung' of the segments of population whose 'spiritual and material being' was most immediately tied to the local moral and socio-cultural universe, and who derived their essence from their unseverable connection to these, even if unconscious: in other words, the category of people who were most 'untainted' by the Western cultural encroachment and who existed and operated unequivocally outside of it. Their 'primitivism' — that is, the fact that, according to the normativity of the dominant cultural understanding, they have not adopted the ways of the civilized world — would thus, in the context of *New Primitives*' poetics of the local, be respecified as a sort of socio-cultural avant-garde, while their unawareness of the 'narrowness of their being' would be turned into the ultimate expression of a new progressive socio-cultural consciousness. The ironic disposition employed, in this context, was a means of affirming (rather than deriding) the essence of 'old primitivism' and 'authentically primitive man'.

For the *New Primitives* the most authentic embodiment of 'old primitivism' was to be found among the most marginal categories of people — local hoodlums, thieves and shady characters on the fringes of society. Their (under)world and their 'codex of living' encapsulated everything local and were, in terms of the movement's strategy and intent, the platform for modeling the 'new-primitive man' — a new conscientized primitive. As Elvis J. Kurtović, the father of new primitivism, made it

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been the *New Traditionals* rather than the *New Primitives*. In his view, the movement is fundamentally about revitalizing the existing, but hitherto 'unknown', socio-cultural mentality of Sarajevo's locale (which is *de facto* its living tradition) and making it the focal point of popular the cultural expression of a new generation of Sarajevo youth, and, in doing so, validating it as a 'new tradition', i.e. a new wave of accepting the traditional local mentality as *the* authentic mentality of one particular *milieu*. In Lošić's view, *New Primitives* is perhaps a somewhat unfortunate coinage because it carries a somewhat negative connotation which may be interpreted as devaluation of the local socio-cultural realities of Sarajevo in terms of equating 'traditionalism' with 'primitivism': if the aim of the movement is to authenticate particular local experiences and to (pro)claim them as uniquely Sarajevo's than correlating 'local' with 'primitive' might have been an unfortunate way of — in some people's mind's — inferiorizing that which is in reality exalted. For Lošić, in retrospect, the "movement of the *New Primitives* and understanding thereof speaks precisely of (un)consciousness of our people" (in Olujić 1990: 44).

plain, "the movement has emerged out of pure sociological analysis of the Jalijaš[119] [Sarajevo's 'felons without a reason']" (in Petrović 1984b: 59). In his view, the *New Primitives* was "something people themselves started and we thought it through and gave it the name" (in Gajić 1983: 55). As he explains it:

> I did not invent primitivism. At the time, my way of thinking was more or less as follows: I'm walking down the street and see a guy who is all in New Romanticism, and right behind him there is a guy, dressed appallingly, with bell-bottom pants, terribly primitive. For the first one, there is a term — New Romantic; but how to term the other one? I only gave the name — new primitives — to the already existing subcultural group. (in Tošić and Maljukov 1990: 34)

The *New Primitives*' 'new-primitive man' is but a 'sociological ideal-type construct' modeled on the realities of existence of the people "who gather on the corners of Sarajevo streets, are always in the groups of ten or so, always walk together, and are not afraid of anyone" (Kurtović in Palameta 1985a: 31) — the 'real-existing Jalijaš-primitives'. The former's physiology, ultimately, is a constructive transposition of the latter's peculiarities.[120]

The essence of new-primitive man's socio-cultural being is effectively captured in the visuals of *Manual for the New-Primitives*, published as part of

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[119] *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s song "Anarchy All over Baščaršija" offers, through the character of Sejo, the finest 'sociological profile':

Sejo se danas super osjeća	Sejo is feeling great today
sinoć je na ulici razbio hipika	last night on the street he beat up a hippy
mali je pokrio lice rukama	the kid covered his face with the hands
ali je ostao bez bubrega	but he got kicked so bad – his kidneys are no more
Sejo se malo muči dok razmišlja	Sejo has a bit of a trouble thinking
sinoć ga nije izradila riba	last night he did not get stood up by his chick
opuco joj je odmah dva šamara	he smacked her around a couple of times
kad ga je za mecu slagala	because she tried to fool him about her period
Anarhija all over Baščaršija...	Anarchy all over Baščaršija...
Sejo voli Hanku i Šabana,	Sejo likes Hanka and Šaban
nervira ga ono "A" po zidovima	he's irritated by the 'A' scrawled on the walls
Sejo je jučer razbio hipika	last night he beat up a hippy badly
Sejo je junak s Vratnika	Sejo is a hero from Vratnik
New primitivs all over Baščaršija	New Primitives all over Baščaršija
Sejo se gnuša zapada	Sejo detests the West

[120] The crucial aspect of the *New Primitives* is the full real-life identification with new-primitive man. Thus the members of the movement dressed, behaved, and thought like their ideal-type construct. The strategic purpose, of course was, 'leading by example' and putting philosophy into *praxis*.

Zabranjeno pušenje's 1985 LP release "Dok čekaš sabah sa šejtanom" ("While Waiting for the Dawn with the Devil"). The right side of the *Manual* — "Fighting" — details everything related to fighting and establishing authority through violence. On the top is an explanation of the most effective way to get your opponent down on the ground; the middle details the most effective weapons for inflicting wounds (including specially designed shoes and rings) along with most sensitive areas to hit an enemy; the bottom provides further guidelines for one's successful validation through violence both at the 'street'- and 'home-front' (the caption above the picture where the 'new-primitive man' is 'disciplining' his family reads: 'talent is about 10% of success; only daily practice will sublimate you into a man with the capital 'm''). The left side of the *Manual* — "Love and Fashion" — provides details on new primitives' visual appearance (for both males and females), on how to make a 'new-primitive fashion statement', and on a 'new-primitive' technique for picking up women. The hallmark of each is 'visual and behavioral crudeness' and lack of sophistication in whatever shape, form or fashion. Ultimately, *New Primitives*' new-primitive man is as unrefined and unpolished culturally as he is outlandish and brute socially.

The bedrock of new-primitive man's intellectual *Weltanschauung* is encapsulated in new-primitive ethics — the 'normative compass' for navigating through one's 'moral-ethical and socio-cultural universe'. Nele Karajlić explains its fundamentals in the following way:

> [new-primitives] call each other friend and shout slogans like 'long live electrification of the village' and 'Pape[121], our dearest', not being embarrassed by their primitive roots. They have neighborly warmth, deep humanness and immediacy in communicating with others. They detest the West except for their *gastarbeiter*[122] brothers, hate Western singers, actors, politicians. (in Lalović 1983a: 70)

On a more specific socio-cultural plane, the normativity of the new-primitive fashion sense is informed by the standards of the so-called 'Bosnian urban folklore' — i.e. multicolor, half-way unbuttoned, acrylic shirts with a wide collar, bell-bottom cloth pants, and pointy shoes with metal heels. According to Karajlić, insistence on the 'Bosnian urban folklore' fashion style has a strategic purpose in affirming and authenticating the local, since 'the way of dressing marks the locale'; as such, it is but a 'general normative expression' of a more particular understanding that, as far as Sarajevo's fashion is concerned, the "bastion of textile imperialism is crumbling and the Paris-London-New York fashion triangle is being replaced by the Vratnik-Sedrenik-Koševo-Malta[123] square" (in Lalović 1983a: 71). In Karajlić's view, the horizons of new-primitive 'fashion — and, by extension, cultural — mind' are delineated by a consciousness which posits that "if Americans have t-shirts with 'enjoy Coca-Cola' logo, why can't we have the same t-shirt with a picture of burek and the logo 'enjoy *burek*' below" (in Lalović 1983a: 71).

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[121] The nickname of Safet Sušić, Sarajevo's 'soccer God'.

[122] 'Gastarbeiter' is a German term for guest-workers — people who work in Germany, but are ultimately expected to return home after retiring. In a broader cultural sense, the term also denotes less educated people from predominantly non-Western parts Europe who are physically in Germany but spiritually 'back home', and who, ultimately, invest most of their earnings in the culturally-recognized tokens of their economic success abroad (such as, a West-European car — preferably Mercedes-Benz, Audi, or BMW — and a big house built in their hometown).

One of the central aspects of new-primitive 'cognitive universe' is profound anti-intellectualism and distrust of people who relish in empty rhetoric and, to borrow from Marx, intellectual bubble-blowing. As far as the new-primitive intellectual sensibilities are concerned, common sense is the be-all-and-end-all of healthy thought and the only thing that unnecessary intellectualizing generates is a massive headache. The distrust of all pretentious intellectualism is the explicit undercurrent of the *New Primitives*' ironic attitude towards the Western philosophical and Marxist traditions and the elitism of Yugoslav higher educational system. Nele Karajlić, the *New Primitives*' principal spokesman, is thus a self-proclaimed doctor and a professor at the University of Sokolac[124] where he teaches New-Primitive Ethic and Collective and Personal Self-Defense from Natural Disasters. His publication résumé includes, among others, the capital works "The Critique of Bistrica[125] Program", "Theses on Edin Bahtić[126] as the Origin of Cosmos"[127], and "The New-Primitive

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[123] All parts of Sarajevo.

[124] University of Sokolac is, needless to say, a non-existing educational institution. Sokolac, incidentally, is a very small town in Bosnia & Herzegovina. By 'allocating' a university to in all respects undistinguishable a place the *New Primitives* are making a comment about the state of Yugoslav education and ridiculing the then current trend of opening up dubious institutions of higher learning in, it would seem, just about any place in the country.

[125] Bistrica is a small town in Bosnia & Herzegovina.

[126] Edin Bahtić was Sarajevo's soccer player for *New Primitives*' favorite local club "Željezničar". With Safet Sušić, he was by far the most admired 'local soccer hero'.

Family" (all of which, of course, are pseudo-writings). His principal artistic collaborator Sejo Sexon — 'the Gandhi of *New Primitives*', as Karajlić puts it — is a Master at the same University of Sokolac where he teaches Primitive Technology. He is also an inventor whose 'life's works' is the famous Aerodynamic MMF Speedfire computerized pointy shoes built for the more effective inducing of internal bleeding and heavy bodily injuries and with a special system for camouflaging their causes. According to Karajlić, the patent for Sexon's invention had been "bought by the Chilean junta for further perfecting" (in Brezarić 1985c: 26). In all of this, the essential strategic purpose of *New Primitives*' ironization of intellectualism and 'upper echelons' of 'educational sanctity' is to point to their latent ability to denegate ordinary thought through their masterly 'claims to truth'. Thus it is a call for 'using one's head' and developing one's own attitude towards life rather than relying on prepackaged, readily available, and officially sanctioned omniscience. Or as Malcolm Muharem puts it, I think, superbly:

> What is truth — what sort of philosophical category is it? Confucius once said that truth is not what's written on the front page of "Liberation"[128]. Rather, it is hidden inside, somewhere around the Classifieds and the Sarajevo Chronicle. (Muharem in Bilić 1984: 67).

The point that Muharem is trying to make is that for the *New Primitives* — and all true new-primitives — the truth is not what is officially 'advertised' through intellectual(ized) pamphleteering, but what is locally lived and comprehended with the 'commonsense mind' of a local socio-cultural *milieu.* In his view, more often than not the two are on a collision course with one another.

The essence of *New Primitives*' poetic of the local is waking up and shaking up Sarajevo's *conscience collective* by way of 'militant advocacy' of local spiritual, intellectual, social, and cultural values and 'principles of life'. Its central objective is

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[127] For *New Primitives*, soccer is the sublimation of the essence of 'real philosophy of life', and, as such, the highest point of (legitimate) contemplation. Soccer players are, by extension, the 'true philosophers of life' — hence 'theses' on Edin Bahtić, "Željezničar"'s soccer star. *New Primitives*' '*praxis* of life' is sublimated in their reworking of thesis ten: "Philosophers and other laborers have only interpreted the soccer game in various ways so far; the point, however, is to score the goal" (in Brezarić 1985c: 26)

[128] "Liberation" is Bosnia & Herzegovina's principal daily newspaper from Sarajevo, thought of as the official voice of the republic.

socio-cultural conscientization by prioritizing the autochthonous, and re-enchantment of the local through the affirmation of its most authentic forms of being in the world. Ultimately, *New Primitives*' socio-cultural *praxis* is a form of cultural resistance to any incarnation of either internally or externally imposed inauthenticity which, through its extrinsic frames of reference, seeks to marginalize, subvert, or negate what is genuine to one's experience and understanding of oneself and one's socio-cultural universe. The *New Primitives*' struggle, however, is not a call for parochialism and disengagement from the 'outside world'; rather, it is a call for being at the center of one's experiential field and engaging with the world from the position of an integral socio-cultural subject. In this sense, *New Primitives*' first and principal commandment is 'know thyself', i.e. the dictum of 'conscious mind'. Its 'final frontier' is an awareness that only by 'knowing thyself' can one meaningfully engage — and negotiate one's relationship with — the world 'out there'.

Elvis J. Kurtović: 'The Biggest Star of the '50's, '60's, '70's, and '80's!'

As discussed earlier, central to the *New Primitives*' poetics of the local was the authentication of 'Sarajevo-centric' consciousness and identity. Crucial to the process was tapping into the authentically local and overwhelmingly marginal ways of thinking and being, and constructing the autochthonous socio-cultural discourse by pulling together and integrating a broad range of disparate markers of identity particular to Sarajevo's *milieu*. Its end point was the articulation of a unique local tradition as the basis for both individual and collective self-validation, and a platform for integrating one's locale into a trans-local socio-cultural fabric.

At the general socio-cultural plane, essential to articulating the tradition was an artistic 'mining of the peripheral' and elevation of the marginal to the plane of the general-local (inaugurated with Emir Kusturica's *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell*). On a music plane, however, the essential problem of articulating the tradition was that there was nothing to mine — that is, that there was no (significant) tradition to speak of — and, thus, nothing to posit as the crux of one's popular-cultural self-validation. This posed a significant problem for the *New Primitives* because if the movement was to project itself as not an anomaly on the local popular-cultural horizon but as a logical and organic outgrowth of the vibrantly rich music tradition whose starting point had always been embeddedness in the local, it had to, by necessity, root itself in the autochthonous rock'n'roll universe and thus claim its rightful place within the local popular-cultural experience. Thus, in order to credentialize itself as the reawakening and continuation of the local music legacy, *New Primitives* had to invent the tradition and, effectively, create an authentic(ally local) popular-cultural milieu as the basis for its own self-validation. Doing this (in addition to, as we have seen, articulating the essence of the movement itself) was the 'historic role' of the father of *New Primitives*, Elvis J. Kurtović.

As Wruss (1984) observes, Kurtović starts from the premise that Bosnia and Sarajevo do not have any (significant) popular-cultural past and that inventing one rests on taking over the entire history of Western pop-rock music and interpreting it as Bosnian and Sarajevan pop-rock history. Central to this process is giving the foreign tradition an authentic indigenous note by positing the typically local thematics, iconography and mythologems as its narrative foundation, and inventing an authentically local pop-rock star as both the ultimate embodiment of the invented tradition and the prime exemplar of its principal stylistic shifts and phases. Kurtović more than successfully accomplishes both on his first record "Mitovi i legende of kralju Elvisu" ("The Myths and Legends about Elvis the King") which, using the format of a documentary radio-program, chronicles the career of the greatest Bosnian and Sarajevan rock'n'roll band *Elvis J. Kurtovich & His Meteors* (as Kurtović's self-ironization) and, through this, offers a cursory overview of the local rock'n'roll history as an effectively fictitious but authentically autochthonous popular-cultural tradition. In this, the record provides the *New Primitives* with the necessary popular-cultural grounding by creating its rock'n'roll 'pre-history' as a logical prequel to the current development(s).

Kurtović's rereading and reinterpretation of the Western pop-rock history works on several distinct, but interconnected, levels: appropriating the global music trends as stylistic foundations for the local music tradition; reworking the rock'n'roll standards by inserting local cultural idioms into their narrative structure; prioritizing the autochthonous being in the world and its marginal manifestations as the focal point of the original rock'n'roll output; and demythologizing rock'n'roll itself by reevaluating its essence through the prism of the real-existing local rock'n'roll experiences and practices. The sampling of *Elvis J. Kurtovich & His Meteors'* career-spanning hits offered on "Mitovi i legende o kralju Elvisu" reveals that Elvis' rock'n'roll poetic is grounded in borrowing from the major popular-music trends (such as pop, classic rock, country music, punk-rock, reggae, disco music and rock'n'roll) and in not-all-too-subtle 'reclaiming' of the staples of Western rock'n'roll tradition (such as, *The Rolling Stones'* "Honky Tonk Women" and *The Who*'s "The Pinball Wizard") which are given uniquely local re-dressing. Thus, in *Elvis J. Kurtovich & His Meteors'* treatment of *The Rolling Stones* classic "Honky Tonk Women" the original narrative of male desire for a lascivious female is inverted into an affirmation of local female dignity and self-respect: while in the chorus of 'their version' *The Rolling Stones* sing 'it's the honky tonk women — gimme, gimme, gimme the honky tonk blues', the chorus of Elvis's version states 'Baščarši hanumen — nedaj nikom to što imaš; baščarši hanumen — nemoj gola da se slikaš' ('Baščaršija woman — don't give what you have to anyone; Baščaršija woman — don't pose naked'). In addition to rereading *The Rolling Stones*, Elvis also reinterprets the principal narrative lines of *The Who*'s rock-opera *Tommy* from the viewpoint of discernibly local sources of family drama and effectively turns it into his own rock-opera *Keni*. Thus, whereas in *Tommy* the source of the principal character's traumatic handicap of becoming deaf, dumb and blind when he witnesses the murder of his mother's lover by his enraged father, in *Keni* the very same traumatic handicap experienced by the boy Keni — recounted roundaboutly in the song "Kad se babo vrati kući pijan" ("When the Father Returns Home Drunk") — is rooted in a drunk father giving the son too much badly distilled brandy. As well, *Tommy's* reigning champion's song "Pinball Wizard" which celebrates Tommy's rise to international celebrity status due to his extraordinary talent for pinball is reworked by Elvis into "Ćiza Bliza Wizard" — a song about Keni's rise to Bosnian fame because of his heavenly gift for 'ćiza-bliza', the popular local game of throwing nickels as close to the wall as possible. Elvis' original material on the record functions primarily as 'stylistic exercise in popular music' whose purpose is to provide a broader setting for his reinterpretations of rock'n'roll standards and, perhaps more importantly, establish the continuity of rock'n'roll tradition within the local popular-cultural *milieu.* Thus each song is done in a distinct style suggestive of the shifting phases in the overall continuity of the local rock-scene and in Elvis' continuous rock'n'roll presence as, as the record's closing track proclaims, 'the biggest star of the '50's, '60's, '70's and '80's!'. The chronicles of Elvis' continuous music career offered through the radio-factography of 'myths and legends of the king Elvis' are a personified narrative about the history of the popular-cultural present in the form of 'mythologically demythologized' local rock'n'roll tradition.

The final step in Kurtović's process of creating the autochthonous rock'n'roll tradition is demythologization of rock'n'roll — i.e. radical reevaluation of its very essence through the prism of the local popular-cultural practices and experience. This is one of the principal preoccupations on *Elvis J. Kurtović & His Meteors'* follow-up to "Mitovi i legende o kralju Elvisu" and the essential theme to some of the band's most important songs. Central to the process is deconstructing the false sheen of rock'n'roll stardom and rock'n'roll business and revealing their 'raw substance' in all of its unabashedness, i.e. portraying the 'rock-stars' as they really are and rock'n'roll as it really is in terms of its local realities. In many respects, *Elvis J. Kurtović & His Meteors'* second record *Da Bog da crk'o rok'n'rol* (*God-willing, Rock'n'roll will Croak*) offers definitive statements on both in the songs "Idol" and in perhaps the ultimate rock'n'roll anti-anthem "Da Bog da crk'o rok'n'rol" ("God-willing, Rock'n'roll will Croak"). The former is a sober look at a rock-star past his prime which reveals that the so-called rock-idols are, in the end, nothing but glorified misfits:

Bio je moj idol	He was my idol
i ja sam kupov'o sve njegove ploče	and I was buying all of his records
sad mu plaćam duplu ljutu	today I am buying him a drink
i pitam ga kad će prestat' da loče	and asking him when he'll stop boozing
Svi njegovi sviraju u Revijskom	All his guys are playing in a Revue Orchestra
odsjekli su kose i skratili brade	they all cut their hair and trimmed their beards
on je još jadnik ostao jedini	he is the only one still standing alone
da počisti prašinu sa barikade	cleaning up the dust from the barricade
Skid'o bi se go (do pasa)	He would take off his clothes (half way)
i kad nije mu bilo baš vruće	even when he wasn't all that hot
kad bi ga neko iz publike psov'o	when someone from an audience would swear at him
htio bi da se potuče	he wanted to beat them up
U svojoj trošnoj kući	In his rundown house
često je kisn'o	it would often rain on him
varali su ga za procenat	he was cheated for the money
varali su ga na fiksno	for the percentage or the upfront payment
Vikali su mu: 'Bježi s puta'	They were shouting at him: 'Move away'
'Prošlo je i tvojih pet minuta.'	'You had your five minutes'

smješkao im se iz daleka,	he smiled from a distance
znao je da i njih isto čeka.	he knew the same awaits them as well
Dal' noćas p'jan tetura	He might be staggering drunk tonight
ili je možda zaspao tek	or perhaps about to fall asleep
ili u svojoj pijanoj glavi	or maybe in his drunken head
priprema neki novi comeback	he's plotting the new comeback

Elvis' ultimate demystification of rock'n'roll is offered as the rereading of *The Rolling Stones* classic "It's Only Rock 'N Roll (But I Like It)" and the fundamental reinterpretation of its ultimate message of the categorical 'rock'n'roll satisfaction' despite it all:

Ti misliš da ja piškim od sreće	You think that I am all happy
kad popnem se ovde na stejdž	when I get on the stage
a gledam Ziju kako p'jan tetura	but I'm watching Zijo staggering drunk
i zamišlja da je Pejdž	imagining himself Jimmy Page
Ti misliš da sam vrlo bogat,	You think that I'm very rich
a u džepu mi ost'o cener	but all I have in my pocket is small change
a gledam Fiću kako se kezi	I'm watching Ficho making faces
i zamišlja da je Džeger	imagining himself Mick Jagger
Ti misliš da smo mi neki heroji	You think we are some heroes
što ničeg' se ne plaše	that are not afraid of anything
al' ne znaš kako se teško sakrivat'	but you don't know how difficult it is to hide
kad počnu da lete flaše	when the bottles start flying at you
Ti misliš da ja Jaguar vozam,	You think that I drive a Jaguar
a više sam gladan no sit	but more often than not I'm starving
a svi sad traže da ih častim	everybody wants me to treat them
i svi mi se grebu za šit	and everybody's asking for shit
Da Bog da crk'o rock'n'roll	God-willing, rock'n'roll will croak
kad ga svako svira	'coz everyone plays it
da Bog da crk'o rock'n'roll	God-willing, rock'n'roll will croak
a ja, a ja, a ja — sa njima	and I, and I, and I — with them

For *The Rolling Stones* the essential problem of rock'n'roll is the problem of fans' perceptions of rock-star persona and of audiences' expectations about the stage performance; for Elvis the problem is much more 'existential' and it ultimately speaks about the perception of the essence of rock'n'roll itself. Thus while *The Rolling Stones*, despite all 'individualized rock'n'roll hardships', fundamentally maintain their rock'n'roll optimism and, in doing so, reinforce the public perception of what rock'n'roll ultimately is, Elvis, through the predicament of his own 'rock'n'roll condition', fundamentally unmasks the image or rock'n'roll and reveals its bear-bone essence stripped of all public hype. For *The Rolling Stones* the myth of rock'n'roll is, despite all, the essence of rock'n'roll that needs to be preserved; for Elvis the myth of rock'n'roll, in the end, belies its essence and therefore it needs to be destroyed.

Hence, 'God-willing, (the myth of) rock'n'roll will croak' rather than 'I know it's only rock 'n roll, but I like it'. Elvis' demythologization of rock'n'roll is thus its recontextualization within the realities of the local popular-cultural universe and the fundamentals of the radically new local popular-cultural force on the rise — the *New Primitives*.

Zabranjeno pušenje: *'Anarchy All over Baščaršija'*

The most complete expression of *New Primitives'* poetic of the local is undoubtedly offered by the movement's alpha-and-omega, Sarajevo's *Zabranjeno pušenje* (*No Smoking*). In many respects, *Zabranjeno pušenje* can be thought of as the rock'n'roll rendering of Emir Kusturica — that is, the application to music of the same artistic and philosophical principles that underlie Kusturica's *Sjećaš li se, Dolly Bell*. As with Kusturica's understanding of film as an art form, *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s artistic vision starts from the premise that, at its best (i.e. most substantive), music is a form of socio-cultural engagement grounded in an unabashed exploration of one's essence and one's most immediate social surrounding, at the center of which is the 'mining' of ordinary realities of everyday life within one's most immediate socio-cultural *milieu*. The ultimate objective, in this context, is to mine one's *milieu* in as documentary a fashion as possible and, in doing so, capture the essence of real life as it really is and as it really happens. An additional assumption is that the reality of the local is in what is invisible to the eye of society proper (what is marginal and peripheral to its normative purviews) and in what, therefore, remains hidden from it. Thus, the exploration of the local is oriented towards bringing out the invisible and the most autochthonous in one's socio-cultural *milieu*, and 'unmasking' — or de-peripheralizing — it's very nature. For Kusturica, the key to this process is in 'directing life as it happens'; for *Zabranjeno pušenje* it is in 'reporting on the events directed by life'. In both cases, authenticity — be it in directing and/or in reporting — and authentic regard of life is pivotal and indispensable. Or as Karajlić puts it, situating his band within the overall movement of the *New Primitives*, "[t]he historical role of the *New Primitives* lies in [projecting] the whole truth, the entire authenticity of events about things very important to our lives" (in Brezarić 1985b: 27).

Delving into the peripheral (with)in the local socio-cultural *milieu* has two essential purposes: demystifying the real-existing by way of revealing its true essence; exploring the marginality of the local by problematizing the impact that society proper exercises over the lives and destinies of ordinary people — i.e. people existing outside 'power circles' and 'zones of influence'. For *Zabranjeno pušenje*, demystifying reality of the local is ultimately about accentuating all that society proper considers 'primitive' about it, and reclaiming it as the ultimate source of the autochthonous and as the foundation of one's individual and collective self-regard. In addition, it is also about interpreting the essence of the local from the viewpoint of its own socio-cultural presumptions and values, and rejecting any externally-imposed frameworks of reference as problematic and oppressive. Exploring the power-effect of society proper, on the other hand, is premised on revealing the inner lives of people on the margins in light of the larger socio-cultural, political, and economic forces that either completely escape them or are perceived as something distant and out of reach. Thus, the outside sources of impact are seldom, if ever, problematized in their own right (meaning that exploration of political ideology as such, for example, is never a subject of *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s contemplations) but only insofar as they register in the consciousness of marginal(ized) (group(s) of) individuals: they are, in other words, considered as externalities. As Karajlić puts it:

> The essence in *Zabranjeno pušenje* is that … the song does not speak about some political events, some - I don't know - great figures, but that it speaks about the people who are, in a way, on the receiving end of it all. The goal in all of that, in that whole atmosphere, is to depict an ordinary man. (Karajlić in Popović 1990b: 50)

For *Zabranjeno pušenje*, it is through exploring the 'mystique' and peripherality of an ordinary subject within his most immediate socio-cultural *milieu* that the essence of the 'drama of the local' is ultimately revealed.

On a larger cultural plane, revealing the 'drama of the local' through documentary reportage has the task of exploring the tension between the 'primitive values' of the marginal(ized) segments of society and the normativity of the officially sanctioned culture that renders them such, and, in doing so, offering a critique of the latter's onerous character. For *Zabranjeno pušenje* — and the *New Primitives* — the only valid form of culture and cultural expression is the one that is autochthonous; that is what makes culture organic and, ultimately, meaningful. Everything else — that is, any form of culture that is grounded in external realities foreign to the local *milieu* — is a form of 'cultural oppression' (or colonization) for it seeks to impose the non-local and, therefore, alien cultural frameworks as the primary, if not the only, basis of cultural expression and experience. For *Zabranjeno pušenje*, maintaining the integrity of the local and, in the end, of oneself depends on resisting the oppressive force of external cultural encroachment(s). In this context, *New Primitives*' affirmation of 'conscientized primitivism' as the highest form of authentic localism figures as a platform for strategic socio-cultural resistance.

It is important to note that the notion of 'local' in the overall poetic of *Zabranjeno pušenje* is used in two distinct senses: as the immediate-local (that is, one's daily *milieu*), and as the national-local (that is, one's homeland *milieu*). Thus, exploring the 'drama of the local' has two distinct, although inter-related, aspects to it: dealing with the problems of the immediate-local, i.e. the tensions between one's immediate socio-cultural purviews and the socio-cultural dimensions of a larger society, and dealing with the tension between the homeland socio-cultural values and foreign socio-cultural penetrations, i.e. the problem of Westernization of national culture. On both planes, *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s *praxis* emanates from the grounding premise which posits that if one is to maintain individual and collective dignity and integrity (i.e. if one is to be a true new-primitive), one has to strive to remain authentically local and resist any form of 'cultural colonialism'. In practical terms, this translates into an understanding that, at the level of the immediate-local, the principal struggle for one's dignity and integrity is a struggle to assert oneself as authentically Sarajevan and use that as the grounding point of one's identity in the face of larger society's 'socio-cultural grip'. At the level of the national-local, the primary struggle is a struggle to remain authentically Yugoslav and, by maintaining all socio-cultural particularities of one's homeland locale, preserve the dignity and integrity of one's identity in the face of foreign cultural intrusions. As far as *Zabranjeno pušenje* is concerned there is no contradiction in being, at the same time, 'militantly Sarajevan' and 'militantly Yugoslav': both forms of authentic localism are, in the final consequence, of crucial importance for one's true personal and collective subjectivity.

Zabranjeno pušenje's debut record, *Das ist Walter* (*This is Walter*), is, in many respects, the band's manifesto on the *New Primitives*'s poetic of the local. Its title (the last line from a 1972 classic World-War II film *Valter brani Sarajevo* (*Walter Defends Sarajevo*)) and its opening track (the closing dialogue from the film) are very explicit statements on the two-fold notion of authentic localism expounded by the band. The last scene in the film has two German military officers overlooking Sarajevo and trying to solve the puzzle of the identity of Valter, a Sarajevan resistance fighter and the ultimate savior of the city and defender of the homeland:

Officer One: 'Merkwürdig. Seit ich in Sarajevo bin, suche ich Walter und finde ihn nicht. Jetzt, wo ich gehen muss, weiss ich wer er ist.	Officer One: 'Strange. Since I've been in Sarajevo, I have been looking for Walter and cannot find him. Now, that I have to leave, I know who he is.'
Officer Two: 'Sie wissen wer Walter ist? Sagen Sie mir sofort seinen Namen.'	Officer Two: 'You know who Walter is? Tell me his name, immediately.'
Officer One: 'Ich werde ihn Ihnen zeigen. Sehen Sie diese Stadt? Das ist Walter.'	Officer One: 'I will show him to you. Do you see this city? That is Walter.'[129]

The symbolism embedded in the last line of the dialogue is powerfully revealing: Walter, as the force of resistance and an incarnation of the struggle for explicitly political (but implicitly also socio-cultural) autonomy, is ultimately the spirit of the whole city and its resilience in the face of occupying power. Thus Walter, at its most immediate, is a symbolic expression of a definite local authenticity, and, at the same time, an affirmation of the authenticity of a broader national locale. The duality of signification embedded is taken by *Zabranjeno pušenje* as the foundation for their new-primitive reanimation of the centrality of the local in grounding an understanding of one's socio-cultural and normative essence. Hence, the record's title "Das ist Walter"[130], and the record's cover — a panoramic view of the heart of Sarajevo with all of its distinct socio-cultural markers.[131]

The theme of intersectionality of 'militant Sarajevism' and 'militant

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[129] Audio transcription and German translation by Wolfgang Lehmann.

[130] As Nele Karajlić puts it: "Walter is an indication of true values which exist as such, but have remained foreign to the arts in general" (Karajlić in Brezarić 1985c: 27).

[131] The picture used for the cover is a reproduction of the panoramic shot from "Valter brani Sarajevo" where, in pointing to the city from atop the nearby hill, the German officer reveals to his colleague Walter's ultimate identity.

Yugoslavism' as the bedrock for authentic (that is, new-primitive) localism is further explored in one of the key songs on "Das Ist Walter", "Neću da budem Švabo u dotiranom filmu" ("I Don't Want to be a German in a Subsidized Film"):

Slavni režiser je u našem gradu snima novi film, kažu bit' će dobar strani glumci, prijemi i lova nema sumnje, smiješi mu se Oskar	A famous director is in our city shooting a new movie, 'a very good one' they say the big stars, the parties, and the money there's no doubt, an Oscar is in sight
Trebat će on i mnogo statista za masovne i grandiozne scene iako kažu da on dobro plaća tamo neće, neće biti mene	He is going to need a lat of extras for big and grandiose scenes although they say that he's paying quite well I will not be there
Neću da budem švabo u dotiranom filmu neću da budem statist u životu i u kinu	I don't want to be a German in a subsidized movie I don't want to be an extra in life, or in cinema
Neću da budem okupator ima neki đavo u mojoj psihi neću da budem švabo kad ne mogu biti Prle niti Tihi	I don't want to be an occupier there's something about it in my psyche I don't want to be a German if I can't be Prle or Tihi[132]
Glavni glumci bi htjeli da su na pravoj strani ja da budem švabo a oni partizani	The stars would all like to be on the right side I to play a German and them the partisans
Neću da budem švabo Švabo da budem neću, nema boga!	I don't want to be a German I don't want to be a German – there's no way!

The principal character in the song is constructed as the modern-day Walter or a sort — the person with a firm and unyielding 'normative compass' and unwavering commitment to the right (i.e. local) values and principles. Despite all the allure of a lavish World-War II film production and the potential monetary benefits from playing an extra, the 'new-primitive' refuses to betray himself and his principles, and cross to the 'other side', if only symbolically. All he is willing to accept is to be on the right side and play a local hero — a partisan patriot. Any other option is simply unacceptable. In this sense, his militant Yugoslavism is the anchorage for his self-regard and an understanding of his authentic personal essence.

Despite his militant Yugoslavism, however, the character in the song is not oblivious to larger national-local socio-cultural realities which, ultimately, relegate him to the role of an 'extra in life'. His window onto the 'world out there' and the ways of its working is the star-system casting principle which prioritizes real actors from the cultural centers while peripheralizing the locals from 'cultural hinterlands', and which, in doing so, both generates and reinforces the social and cultural chasm by way of erecting the hierarchy of importance. Thus, the new-primitive's resolve not to play a German is at the same time a stand against an 'external assault' on the dignity and integrity of his essence as an authentic Yugoslav, but it is also an act of resistance against the internal encroachment on his autochthonous Sarajevan self. In his mind, the end effect of both power-effects is identical, with the latter, peripheralizing him in real life and the former doing the very same thing on the silver screen. Asserting his 'primitiveness' in the face of both, therefore, is the only way to remain true to oneself. Hence, the most important lines in the song: 'I don't want to be an extra — in life, or in cinema'.

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[132] A reference to two most popular characters from the long-running and highly popular World War II series "Otpisani" ("The Written-offs")

Regardless of the militancy of his Yugoslavism when it comes to foreign encroachment, the new-primitive man's authentic Yugoslavism is by no means a blinder preventing a sober understanding of larger homeland dynamics that potentially jeopardize the integrity of his 'Yugoslav primitivism'. On the contrary, it is precisely the desire to remain authentically Yugoslav that makes the new-primitive man rather sensitive towards the duplicities of his own society that — intentionally or not — undermine the true foundation of his, and others', sovereign Yugoslav self. *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s song "Uncle Sam", released on the follow-up to "Das ist Walter", "Dok čekaš sabah sa šejtanom" ("While Waiting for the Dawn with the Devil"), is highly revealing in this regard:

8:30, zvono na vratima ustajem i zastajem nijem čovjek u cilindru i fraku mi reče: 'hello boy, I'm ujka Sam'	8.30 AM , door bell I'm getting up, and I'm stunned a man in a top hat and a tails says: 'hello boy, I'm Uncle Sam'
'Možda čovjek naplaćuje struju TV pretplatu, il' parno grijanje' u lice mi dune dim cigare 'no, my boy, meni se više duguje'	'Maybe the guy's collecting for electricity TV subscription, or heating' he puffed cigar smoke into my face 'no, my boy, I'm owed much more'
Reko', 'garant loša loza il' nesretna ljubav neka što piješ kad ti škodi vidi šta žena učini od čovjeka'	I thought, 'for sure the guy's been drinking some weird stuff or he's been unlucky in love why do you drink when you can't take it see what a woman can do to a man'
A on izvadi požutjeli papir '6,000 dollars you must pay to Ujka Sam' a ispod moj potpis godina i dan	But he pulled out an old, yellow paper '$ 6,000 you must pay to Uncle Sam' and there it was, my signature the date and the year
Počeh da se vadim, 'reko' zemlja u razvoju,	I tried to explain, 'you see we are still a developing country

slaba razmjena robe	our trade balance is not that great
naše bogatstvo je bratstvo i jedinstvo	but our wealth is brotherhood and unity
naše bogatstvo su tekovine NOB-e'	our wealth is the legacy of the revolution'
'Oh? No problem, my boy	'Oh? No problem, my boy
Ujka Sam kupuje sve	Uncle Sam is buying everything
Oh? No, problem my boy'	Oh? No problem my boy'
Ujka sam kupuje me!	Uncle Sam is buying me!
Jutro je počelo burno	It was a stormy morning
probudi me sa kreveta pad	I fell from bed and awoke
čuh glas žene iz kuhinje	I heard my wife's voice from the kitchen
'zakasni l' se na posao kad'	'you'll be late for work again'
Političar na radiju pričao je o jubilejima	A politician on the radio was talking about some jubilees
time valjda hoće da nas zbari	I guess that's his way to win us over
al' iza mojih leđa se smije Ujka Sem	but in my mind, Uncle Sam was smiling
u mojim očima igrali su dolari	In my eyes, dollars were dancing
Otrčah u firmu, rekoh	I ran to work, and said to my colleagues
'raja, sve mi je jasno sad	'hey guys, I understand it all now
bratstvo i jedinstvo ne brani radio	brotherhood and unity are not defended by the radio
bratstvo i jedinstvo brani rad'	brotherhood and unity can be defended only by work'
Bang, bang, bang boogie-woogie-honey	Bang, bang, bang boogie-woogie-honey
give me my money	give me my money
bang, bang, bang.	bang, bang, bang.
I am boogie-woogie-man	I am boogie-woogie-man
give all the money to Ujka Sam!	give all the money to Uncle Sam!
Ujka Sam! Ujka Sam!	Uncle Sam! Uncle Sam!
Easy...	Easy...

Crucial to the song is *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s interrogation of an interplay between the external and internal threats to individual selfhood, and the ways in which they are not only experienced and contextualized by an ordinary new-primitive but also re-contextualized as crucially antithetical to his understanding of himself and his immediate-local and national-local *milieux*. Both 'Uncle Sam' (i.e. the West and its financial institutions) and the 'radio' (i.e. the homeland ideological apparatus) are examined as the forces that bear upon the destiny of an everyday person existing within his own microcosm, and that the person becomes aware of most strongly through the power of their immediate impact — i.e. in direct confrontation. Two key moments in the song are the realizations that Western repatriation comes not only in the form of monetary recompense but that it also exacts the payment 'in kind' (i.e. surrendering one's authentic self and giving up on what is held sacred to one's personal and collective essence), and that the preservation of one's authenticity cannot be helped by empty rhetoric and lofty phraseology: it can only be realized by relying on oneself and one's individual and societal talents. Thus, the crucial line in the song: 'brotherhood and unity are not defended by the radio; brotherhood and unity can only be defended by work'. The ultimate realization that the new-primitive man comes to, in the face of Uncle Sam and the radio as two distinct but interrelated realities that, each in its own way, jeopardize his integrity in the most immediate sense, is that the only way to deal with the problem(s) of one's sovereign 'being in the world' is to turn to oneself and the normativity of one's own socio-cultural universe.

The intimacy of the interrelationship between the new-primitive's militant Yugoslavism and larger socio-cultural realities of the homeland, and the impact that the dynamic of latter has on the nature of former, is explored most directly by *Zabranjeno pušenje* in the song "Dan republike" ("The Republic Day"), one of the key songs on their last new-primitive record, "Pozdrav iz zemlje Safari"[133] ("Greetings from Safari Land"):

Danas je dan republike	Today is the republic day
i stari je popio malo	and the old man has had a few drinks
na televiziji Lepa Brena	Lepa Brena[134] on TV
i stari se sjeća ratnih vremena	while the old man reminisces about the old days
Da bi danas bilo bolje	So that we would have it better today
oni su poturali svoja pleća	they made tremendous sacrifices
gazili hladne rijeke	wading across the icy waters
jeli koru s drveća	eating bark from the trees
Žao mu je što neki misle	He's saddened because everyone thinks
da je život negdje drugdje	that a good life is somewhere else
i ne sanja se više stari san	and nobody is dreaming the old dream
čekaju pasoš da odu van	everyone's just waiting for a passport to go abroad
Danas je dan, dan republike	Today is a day, the republic day
i stara kaže 'Dragane šuti	and my mum says, 'shut up Dragan
skrati jezik mogu te čuti'	keep it quiet, they could hear you'
Danas je dan republike	Today is the republic day
i stari se sjeća ratnih dana	and the old man is reminiscing about the war days
žao mu je što se ni klinci	he's saddened that even the kids
više ne igraju partizana	are not playing partisans any more
Danas svako zna	Today everyone knows
da je glava samo jedna	that there's only one head
danas svako zna	today everyone knows
pred kim pasti na koljena	before whom to drop on their knees
Danas je dan republike i stari kaže	Today is the republic day and the old man says
'otvorite prozore'	'open the windows'
pijan je i čini mu se	he's drunk and he thinks
da logorske vatre u daljini gore	that the campfires are burning in the distance

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[133] The *New Primitives* movement was officially abolished on May 15, 1987, shortly after the release of "Pozdravi iz zemlje Safari". According to Nele Karajlić, *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s next record "Male priče o velikoj ljubavi" ("Small Tales about Grand Love") was a transition into a new — presumably post-*New Primitives* — aesthetic (see Sarać 1990: 49).

[134] Yugoslavia's famous folk singer.

Danas je dan, dan republike	Today is a day, the republic day
i stara kaže, 'jesi l' normalan Dragane	and my mum says, 'Dragan, are you crazy!
zatvaraj prozore, ne radi grijanje'	close the windows, we have no heating in the house'
Danas je dan, dan republike	Today is a day, the republic day
i stara kaže, 'Dragane šuti	and my mum says, 'shut up Dragan
skrati jezik mogu te čuti'	keep it quiet, they could hear you'

The father's inner state of mind is deeply affected by the larger social, political and economic realities of his national-local *milieu*. However, they are not perceived as such i.e. as grand failing projects) but are experienced and internalized through the prism of the small local realities one is confronted with every day (thus, the loss of authentic cultural values becomes real in the fact that kids are not playing Partisans anymore, the dissatisfaction with society's economy through seemingly everyone waiting to get a passport and go abroad, etc.). The father, in the immediacy of micro-cosmic manifestations of macro-cosmic actualities, recognizes that his authentic being is threatened to the core, and feels the urge to resist the dissolution of himself by confronting the menace head on. Yet the extent of his 'militant Yugoslavism' is consolation in the bottle and emotional release in bemoaning the present. These are the only acts of resistance he is capable of mustering. The song's key moments are mother's repeated request for the father to shut up and close the window: it is winter, it is cold, and, most importantly, the heating is not working. What she is telling him is that, in the end, he is dissolving himself by his own deeds — meaning that the 'salvation', if there is to be any, can come only from within, not without. The 'externalities' of one's being, no matter how important, are second to one's interiority.

In addition to interrogating the intersectionality of militant Sarajevism and militant Yugoslavism as the bedrock for authentic (that is, new-primitive) localism, and exploring the latter's peripherality in relation to the power-effects of externally-imposed socio-cultural frameworks, on the one hand, and the normativity of 'society proper', on the other, the central aspects of *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s poetics of the local was the demystification of Sarajevo's socio-cultural locale through a documentary approach to the realities of everyday life as it really happens. The process was grounded in the premise that unmasking the truth of the local has to do with remaining faithful to its essence and, simply, 'documenting the events directed by the life' through music. In addition, it was premised on an understanding that offering an unabashedly honest reporting on life as it really happens enables a gaining of new perspective on the realities of one's individual and collective existence and opens up the possibility for comprehending life in a different light. Thus the aim of *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s new-primitive realism, projected through their brand of poetics of the local was conscientization of oneself as the local subject, and conscientization of others in relation to one's local self — in other words, double awareness.

The initial public sampling of *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s poetics of the local came in the form of a 'country-rock' number, "Zenica[135] Blues" — the Yugoslav "Folsom Prison Blues":

U Zenicu kada pođem ja	When I leave for Zenica
prati me pet-šest drotova	I'll be guarded by five or six cops
okružni sudija rek'o dvanaest godina	the county judge gave me twelve years
dvanaest godina strogog zatvora	twelve years in maximum-security
Tužna je moja sudbina	My fate is really sad
ženu mi krećo Hakija	my wife was assaulted by Hakija
krećo Hakija presudila mu čakija	he assaulted, and I cut him up
ne razumiješ ti to druže sudija	You don't understand that, my friend judge
Zenico mrzim svaki kamen tvoj	Zenica, I detest every inch of you
zbog tebe ja mrzim život svoj	because of you I hate my life
ko preživi dvanaest godina u K.P. domu Zenica	who ever lives to survive twelve years in Zenica jail
taj je pravi hadžija	he is a tough one
Raduje me jedna istina	I'm glad about one thing, though
iz K.P. doma vratit ću se ja	I'll be back from Zenica
ali Hakija nikad neće sa Bara	but Hakija, he'll never come back from Bara
sa Bara se niko ne vraća	because no one ever comes back from the cemetery

The song's importance lies in the fact that it deals with the themes previously unknown in Yugoslav pop-rock music, murder and the fate of a murderer, in a manner stripped of any form of circumlocution. The language used is that of an ordinary, everyday folk — simple, honest, and direct; the story-telling is straightforward and to the point; and the narrator recounts his tale honestly, without 'ornamentalizing' or skewing the events or his thoughts about them. The song, simply, presents the truth and, in documenting life as it really happens, offers a 'new take' on the familiar. Its power, according to Nele Karajlić is precisely in this 'new take': "look[ing] at a man sentenced for twelve-year imprisonment from an aspect different from that of the law", and, in doing so, offering a perspective completely different from the official (Karajlić in Popović 1989: 5). What Karajlić is trying to get at is that the official understanding of the event would brand the narrator as a criminal who, because of his heinous crime and lack of 'moral compass', deserves to be in prison, and who is, as far as law is concerned, a menace to society. The new-primitive reportage of the very same event, on the other hand, is told from the character's perspective and his, rather than official-legal, moral codex, and reveals that, within the normativity of his local socio-cultural *milieu*, his action is perfectly understandable and justifiable, as is his glee over Hakija's ultimate destiny. It is Hakija, rather than him, that is the true villain, and it is Hakija's rather than the narrator's behavior and action that is truly reprehensible. Hakija was handled according to the normativity of his own socio-cultural environment (that is, according to the laws stronger than the ones legally prescribed by society proper), and he got what he deserved; the narrator may not be a hero, but he is certainly not a villain. Thus, the capital-'t' truth revealed by the song — fundamentally different from the official — is that true justice prevailed. And this, in Karajlić's view, is the principal reason "Zenica Blues" resonated so strongly with the audience: "[the song] became a hit mostly because it spoke about things that are true and, in doing so, broke an idealized vision of life, projected to the people mostly by the TV" (in Brezarić 1985b: 27).

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[135] Zenica is a city in central Bosnia & Herzegovina.

For *Zabranjeno pušenje*, the best way to demystify the local (that is, to reveal its true essence) is to document it from the viewpoint of its authentic characters, their unique 'ways of being', and their own personal 'inner drama'. As Karajlić puts it:

> *Zabranjeno pušenje* is a band that sings about events and persons from its living *milieu*. Those are the people who live on the margins: taxi-drivers, black-marketeers from Sarajevo's urban part, workers, ditch-diggers. They all have their inner life, inner experiences and a specific way of reasoning. My band's motto is that one Abid (a character in one song) is living through an inner drama as equally strong and true as the one of a Danish king called Hamlet. (Karajlić in Miletić 1987b: 33)

Thus, on the band's debut album "Das ist Walter" the socio-cultural milieu of Sarajevo is revealed through the 'docudramas' of a variety of fringe characters whose stories tell an authentic 'tale of the city'. "Pamtim to kao da je bilo danas" ("I Remember It As If It Was Yesterday"), the song that, as Wruss (1984: 29) puts it, reads as a screenplay for Kusturica's new film, is perhaps the most illustrative example here:

Pamtim to kao da je bilo danas
kad je babo Atif otiš'o od nas
u ruci mu piva, za reverom značka FK "Sarajevo"
Kaže da mu je dosta žene, dijece, kuće,
i da ga naka nostalgija vuče,
i da će se vratit' kad mu bude ćejf

Mi djeca smo čučali ispod jorgana
a komšiluk vik'o, "Haj Fatma pusti hajvana,
vratiće se on kad propije sve"
Al' eto, prođe od tad trin'est bajrama
a babo Atif se ne vrati nama,
kažu da ga je kod Hadžića satr'o voz

A ja sam uletio u Fahrinu raju,
šverc'o kafu, bunario, i po tramvajima prodav'o farmerke
Mislio sam da za to imam nekog šlifa,
i zaboravio sam riječi rahmetli babe Atifa
u rijetkim trenutcima kad je ovaj bio trijezan

'Sine', veli, 'ko igra za raju i zanemaruje taktiku,
završiće karijeru u nižerazrednom Vratniku'

...haj, rekoh....

I fakat, murija ufati Omera
on propjeva nakon dva šamara i reče o raji sve što zna
Zaboravio je bio sve zajedničke akcije
zaboravio je bio sve zajedničke derneke,
zaboravio je bio kako sam njega i onog malog Adu
dvaput spasio belaja...

I sada u miru istražnog zatvora
razmišljam o riječima rahmetli babe Atifa
u rijetkim trenutcima kad je ovaj bio trijezan...

'Sine', veli, 'ko igra za raju i zanemaruje taktiku,
završiće karijeru u nižerazrednom Vratniku'

I remember it as if it was yesterday
when father Atif left us
with the beer in his hand, "Sarajevo"[136] badge in his lapel
He said that he had it with the wife, the kids, the house
that it is nostalgia that's pulling him away
and that he'll come back when he felt like.

We the kids were crouching underneath the quilt
the neighbors were saying, 'Fatma, don't mind the fool,
he'll come back when he squanders it all on booze.'
But it's been thirteen Bairams since then
and father Atif never came back,
they said he was run over by a train near Hadzic

And I ganged up with Fahro's crowd
smuggling coffee, stealing, and selling jeans in tramways
I thought I had a touch for it
forgetting the words of the late father Atif
uttered in rare moments when he was sober

'My son', he said, 'those who play it tough without a strategy
will end up where they least expect.'

... Really, I said ...

And really, the cops picked up Omer
and after only two slaps he told all he new about the gang
He forgot about all of our actions
He forgot about all of our parties
He forgot how I saved him and the little Ado twice
from trouble ...

And now in the quiet of investigative jail
I'm pondering the words of the late father Atif
Uttered in rare moments when he was sober

'My son', he said, 'those who play it tough without a strategy
will end up where they least expect.'

In addition to offering a 'memoir' of the small-time felon, "Das ist Walter" tells the tales of the quintessential Sarajevo new-primitive man Sejo, the dreamy starlet Selena, and the legendary taxi-driver Šeki — all of whom are real-life characters. What binds them all is the common socio-cultural *milieu* of Sarajevo and the common condition of marginality within their own socio-cultural universe. Despite (or, perhaps, precisely because of) the latter, however, their individual dramas, as far as *Zabranjeno pušenje* is concerned, are what brings the essence of the Sarajevo locale alive and what makes it real, unique, and autochthonous to both insiders and outsiders.

According to Karajlić one can differentiate two types of protagonists in the songs of *Zabranjeno pušenje*. Common to all of them is that they are on the margins of 'officially sanctioned' form of life and that their marginality grounds their identity and their sense of the world. The first type of protagonist — the characters documented on *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s first two albums "Das ist Walter" and "Dok čekaš sabah sa šejtanom" — are individuals conscious of their situation and position but without any visible effort to 'go beyond it'. Simply, they operate in the context and within the sphere of their marginality and all of their existence is one way or another tied to and reflected in that 'peripheralness'. The second type of protagonists, however, is different in that they not only fully understand their situation and position of 'peripheralness' but that they use their understanding as a jumping-off point for an attempt to transcend the marginality of their existence. As Karajlić puts it:

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[136] "Sarajevo" is one of the two local soccer teams.

> These new heroes are tough and mature individuals who are not only aware of their condition but who also know how to evade that condition through an alternative of imagination. It is that imagination that enables them to project the dream land — the land of Safari. (Karajlić in Misirilić 1987: 17)

Thus the possibility of transcendence is a two-stage process which starts with the ability to fully comprehend the nature of 'peripheralness' (and, based on that understanding, imagine an alternative form of being in the world), followed by an attempt to actualize the imagination by taking concrete steps for rising above the condition of marginality. Undertaking the steps does not provide any guarantee that the escape will be successful (in fact, more often than not it is not), but the ability of (re)imagining creates, even after repeated failures, a recurrent desire to attempt to transcend one's condition of existence and one's state of being.

Zabranjeno pušenje's third and last new-primitives record "Pozdrav iz zemlje Safari" ("Greetings from Safari Land") has as one of its central themes the exploration of the latter type of new-primitive man. The album's title is, in a sense, a salute to the alternative of imagination and the possibility of evading the peripheralness of one's existence. 'Safari land' is the conceptual shorthand for the 'new-primitive utopia', a place (or, in the end, a state of mind) signifying the desire and resolve to step outside one's socio-cultural universe, while 'greetings' indicates that, for some at least, reaching the utopia of their imagination has been successful. Or as Karajlić (in Miletić 1987b: 33) puts it, in reference to the notion of 'Safari land',

> to people I'm singing about, [Safari] means some sort of paradise on earth — a land where there are bananas to one's heart's content, where beer is free, where lamb is barbecued on the beach, and where there is a plentitude of women. ... It is, simply, the land where they can do whatever and however they wish, without worrying about all kinds of Chernobyls, airplane catastrophes, terrorism, and expensive rent.

Thus, the 'problematic' of new-primitive existence and new-primitive transcendence is at the core of thematic explorations in the record's key songs. The track that perhaps best illustrates *Zabranjeno pušenje*'s central preoccupation on "Pozdrav iz zemlje Safari" is "Balada o Pišonji i Žugi" ("The Ballad of Pišonja i Žuga"):

Pišonja i Žuga su pamtili dobro šta im je te večeri govorio Lepi 'More je provod, more su koke' 'More je izvor života — je li tako Moke?'	Pišonja and Žuga remembered well what they were told by Lepi that night 'The riviera is a party, the riviera is where the chicks are' 'The riviera is the source of all life — isn't it Moke?'
Moke je još dod'o i to da se strankinje praskaju pravo i da je u Zaostrogu u kampu svaku noć drugu jebav'o Pišonja i Žuga mogli su ih slušati i noć cijelu Pišonja i Žuga imali su krv sedamnaest godina vrelu	Moke added that foreign girls give it away real easy and that in a Zaostrog camp he had a new one every night Pišonja and Žuga could listen to them all night Pišonja and Žuga had a seventeen-year-old boiling blood
Još istu noć su Pišonja i Žuga maznuli kasetaš iz Doma invalida pa malo zatim i autobus "Auto-prevoza" sa Hrida	The very same night Pišonja and Žuga stole the tape player from a home for disabled and shortly thereafter a Hrid-company bus
Pišonja ubaci u brzinu to vrelo ljetno veče oko dva'est i dva časa 'A sada, pravac more', viknu Žuga iz sveg glasa	Pišonja switched into gear that hot summer night around 10 PM 'And now — destination riviera", Žuga yelled out
Pišonja je vozio i pušio duhan Žuga voli crne, a Pisonja plave a poslije mora dalje u svijet samo se hrabri dokopaju slave	Pišonja was driving and smoking Žuga likes the dark ones, Pišonja likes the blondes after the riviera, straight on into the world only the brave ones attain the glory
'A onda zbogom barake na Breci' viknu Žuga i kasetaš odvrnu jače 'Dobićete razglednicu iz afričke zemlje Safari' 'Zbogom žohari!'	'So long Breka barracks' screamed Žuga blasting the tape player 'You'll receive the greeting card from Safari Land' 'Farewell, cockroaches!'
Murija je blokirala cestu negdje kod Bradine oko dva'es tri i pet u autobusu je svirao boogie-woogie	Cops blocked the road around Bradina at about eleven-o-five boogie-woogie was playing in the bus
Vidjevši drotove pri brzini od osamdeset na sat "Vežite se, polećemo", Pišonja reće Žugi	Spotting the cops, at eighty kilometers an hour Pišonja said to Žuga, 'Buckle up, we're taking off!'
Strahovit tresak zapara zrak čak i iskre poletješe u mrak pričali su ujutru i kleli se u majku da su auspuh i retrovizor našli čak pedeset metara dalje u jarku	A terrible crash ripped through the air the sparks were flying in the dark in the morning, people swore on their mother that the muffler and the rearview mirror were found fifty meters away lying in the ditch
I dok su Pišonju nosili u hitnu on ugleda mjesec iznad sebe i reče 'Bože, kako neki mogu gore, a ja i Žuga ni na more'	And while they carried Pišonja to an Emergency Ward he spotted the moon above and said 'God, how is it that some can go all the way up there, while me and Žuga cannot even make it to the riviera'
Poslije toga je pao u nesvjest i više nije mogao čuti	After that he fell unconscious and couldn't hear no more

kako se još dugo na nebu smijao mjesec žuti	the moon above him laughing for a long time
Pišonja i Žuga, dva vjerna druga	*Pišonja i Žuga, the two loyal friends*
krote opasne krivine	*taming the dangerous curves*
molim te, čuvaj ih, kraljice brzine	*please, keep an eye on them, Queen of speed*

Central to the song's narrative is an attempt to attain utopia through the transcendence of the limitations of one's own conditions of existence — in specific terms, to escape 'Breka barracks' and get, 'by any means necessary', to the Adriatic coast as the earthly 'Safari Land'. The key subtext here, explicit to the *New Primitives* preoccupation with the 'problematic' at hand, is that an attempt at transcendence is not suggestive of 'running away from oneself', but that, quite contrarily, it implies full realization of one's true essence. For Pišonja and Žuga, the dream of the riviera is not grounded in a desire to abandon their former selves and take on a new form of identity — that does not interest them in the least for they are perfectly content with who they are; rather, it is grounded in the sense that in getting to the coast they can finally get a chance to be fully and unconditionally themselves. The coast — or 'Safari land' — is therefore signification of an affirmation rather than negation of one's autochthonous 'new-primitiveness'; analogously, the 'alternative of imagination' which inspires it is a manifestation of the highest form of conscientized new primitivism.

In this sense, 'daring to transcend' no matter what the cost — which is what *Zabranjeno pušenje* explores on its final new-primitives record — is, in the final instance, the (re)articulation of *New Primitives*' ultimate 'categorical imperative': 'dare to be new-primitive'. The chorus lines of "Meteor", the closing track on "Pozdrav iz zemlje Safari", are, in many respects, the finest poetic expression of both:

Vjeruj mi	Believe me
moja je želja jedina da se vinem put visina	my only wish is to soar high up
i da tamo, gore visoko, sagorim kao meteor	and, while up there, burn out like a meteor

New Primitives*: A Résumé*

As discussed in Chapter 1, the fundamental characteristic of what I call 'movement' in the context of my discussion of the *New Wave*, the *New Primitives* and — in the next chapter — the *New Partisans* is an awareness of dealing with the same ideas/themes by using common 'cultural codes' to express them, i.e. an understanding of doing the same thing by same/similar means. As I have tried to show in the previous chapter, this was one of the essential aspects of the *New Wave* and, as the discussion in this chapter makes it evident, one of the foundational premises of the *New Primitives*. The movement's genesis was grounded in the specific socio-cultural *milieu* of Sarajevo and a particular circle of people who all shared the same *Weltanschauung* and who all, despite perhaps somewhat different personal/family backgrounds, expressed it through various popular-cultural forms and media. Thus, all seemingly different cultural outputs within *New Primitives* (music, radio, theatre, TV shows, etc.) were fundamentally the variations on the movement's essential *praxis* of socio-cultural engagement and conscientization. As Karajlić puts it,

> From the variety of endeavors we were engaged in, there remained three specific things — *Zabranjeno pušenje*, Elvis J. Kurtović and *Top-list of Surrealists*. … Fundamentally, all of it was the same thing — a completely different take on things happening around us, i.e. a completely new way of thinking, thus far unfamiliar to the existing Yugoslav showbiz, be it music- or humor-wise. In time, however, these three things started separating and taking their own paths. But we all talked about the same things, each in a slightly different way. So, fundamentally, there is a deep connection between *Top-list of Surrealists*, *Zabranjeno pušenje*, the *Press*[137], and Elvis, but the media — that is, its means of expression — were different. Elvis expounded himself through an absolutely imaginary person — the great man of rock'n'roll. *Zabranjeno pušenje* was doing it through some social ballads, whose principal note was carried by Sejo Sexon and me. And the *Top-list of Surrealists* was working through the true 'new-primitive' goofiness. All to say, we were all talking about the same things…
>
> […]
>
> All we were doing was some sort of our understanding of truth…. We were singing, acting and writing — about the things we saw — in our own way. And, what's most important, we offered to the people a perspective completely different from the official. As a matter of fact, that was ultimately the *New Primitives*' … strongest weapon. We wanted to talk about the things that are

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[137] Karajlić's reference to Sarajevo band "Bombaj štampa" fronted by Branko Đurić, one of the key members of *Top-list of Surrealists* team.

> among us. (Karajlić in Popović 1989: 5)

That *New Primitives* was indeed a movement and that *No Smoking*, as its principal and most important exponent, was much more than a rock'n'roll band or a band of individuals with a specific *Weltanschauung*, is expressed clearly in Karajlić's statement that "to love *Zabranjeno pušenje* is a matter of philosophy and to love some other band is a matter of geography" (Karajlić in Petković 1985d: 15). What he means here is that to understand the *praxis* of *Zabranjeno* pušenje, and, by extension, *New Primitives*, one needs to understand the *Weltanschauung* within which the *praxis* is grounded. One must understand the new-primitive philosophical foundations of the band's and the movement's method of "registering things and happenings with an onlooker attitude towards them, and with humor and goofiness — if present — resting solely on the relational dynamic between the two" (Karajlić in Kavdić 1981: 10). Getting at the essence of the latter without comprehending the substance of the former is simply unworkable.

The other aspect that fundamentally defines the *New Primitives*, and which the movement shares with the *New Wave*, is an affirmative form of critique that underlies its particular sense of socio-cultural engagement and the overall philosophy of its *praxis*. Thus, despite all of its 'militancy' the movement's engagement with society and socio-cultural forces that threaten the dignity and sovereignty of the new-primitive individual was never premised on a destructive attitude towards society as such, but was fundamentally inspired and animated by the ideals and values of the very society that inspired and animated the critique itself. In other words, the *New Primitives*' poetics of the local, despite — or more accurately, *because of* — being polemical and 'quarrelsome', was fundamentally Yugoslav in its foundational suppositions. Wruss (1985b: 29) makes the very same point in the following observation:

> The *New Primitives* is the first relevant movement in Yugoslav rock music that doesn't understand rock'n'roll as a means of resistance and rebellion, but sees as the foundation of its poetic an affirmative attitude towards society. … With their militant Yugoslavism and the emphasis on the folkloric as the basic characteristic of Yugoslav culture Sarājevo's bands have no intention of nullifying the specificities of other local and national cultures; rather, using one of to-them-accessible means

> they are emphasizing their local and national presence in the culture of Yugoslav peoples.

Perhaps the best illustration of the *New Primitives*' affirmative relationship to Yugoslav idea(l) is Nele Karajlić's response to the question about the rising and increasingly menacing tide of nationalism threatening the country's essential socio-cultural fabric, in which he states the following:

> None among us thinks that way. If we were to think thus - that would be a complete disaster! Because none of us is by profession a Muslim, an Orthodox, a Catholic … just as none of us is a communist. And that's very important! We are the people whose fundamental profession is show-business! And we can function only that way! … However, I think that some kind of a national story in Sarajevo would be the story 'they' would want us to tell. 'They' would, I guess, relish it if we were to start goofing the way that would suit them. That's why we don't care to do it. Besides, we were brought up that way and we simply do not make a distinction which is whose! There is no-one among us who does not consider Krleža and Andrić[138] his writers, i.e. there is not a person who does not feel the Slovenian, Serbian or Croatian history as his own history. Because of that, it is very difficult to understand everything that's going on today[.](Karajlić in Popović 1989: 6)

Ultimately, the essence of *New Primitives*' fundamental Yugoslavism, and the distilment of the movement's 'political' credo, will find its finest expression in Karajlić's 1984 succinct but poignant 'categorical imperative': "Everything outside the OOUR[139] is mafia" (*Sve van OOUR-a je mafija*) (Karajlić in Janjatović 1984b: 14).

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[138] Miroslav Krleža and Ivo Andrić are the most important Croatian and Bosnian writers respectively.

[139] OOUR is an abbreviation standing for 'Osnovna Organizacija Udruženog Rada' ('Elementary Organization of Associated Labor') — the foundational economic unit of Yugoslav socialist self-management.

CHAPTER 7

The *New Partisans*: 'Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia'

We have seen in the previous chapter that in addition to 'militant Sarajevism' as *the* grounding point of its philosophy and *praxis*, one of the fundamental aspects of *New Primitives* movement and its poetics of the local was 'militant Yugoslavism', whose strategic function was to authenticate local socio-cultural experiences of a particular Yugoslav *milieu* and, in doing so, act as a resistance mechanism to what was perceived as an ever-growing Western encroachment and Westernization of the country's socio-cultural space. Fundamentally, the *New Primitives*' militant Yugoslavism was a strategic device employed as a means of combating what was perceived as de-authentication of Yugoslavia's socio-cultural fabric, and, as such, a call for a return to the 'fundamentals' of what was interpreted by the *New Primitives* as the true Yugoslav cultural spirit. Its objective as the 'spirit of resistance' was, therefore, the re-authentication of a particular form of national-local socio-cultural being in the face of external threats to autochthonous notions and understandings of oneself — or, to put it differently, the preservation of the dignity and integrity of one's identity in light of the forces and practices of the foreign 'cultural occupation'.

New Partisans, the third (and last) movement that I wish to consider in this chapter, can be regarded as a logical extension of *New Primitives*' articulation of 'militant Yugoslavism' and its call for 'un-Westernized Yugocentrism'. Emerging in the mid-1980's as the response to the nationalization of Yugoslav socio-cultural space and its politicization along the lines of increasingly virulent chauvinist rhetoric(s), the *New Partisans* took up *New Primitives*' concept of 'militant Yugoslavism' and turned its extension into the movement's *raison d'être*. With the *New Partisans*, however, the call for 'un-Westernized Yugocentrism' got shaded with strong political overtones and a heavy emphasis on the political dimension. Whereas with the *New Primitives* the 'un-Westernized' (i.e. the cultural front) was of primary importance, with the *New Partisans* a 'Yugocentrism' and, specifically, a particular notion of Yugoslavism, came to be the crux of the movement's overall philosophy and *praxis*. As we shall see later on, emphasis on the political did not preclude the cultural but rather assumed it, implicitly or explicitly, as a necessary (pre)condition for the realization of the movement's explicitly socio-political objectives. Thus, whereas the *New Primitives* offered a socio-cultural critique by weaving its unique poetics of the local, the *New Partisans* deployed a poetics of the patriotic as a means of offering a form of socio-political critique of the Yugoslav socialist community in crisis and a potential remedy for it.

Like the *New Primitives*, the *New Partisans* movement originated in Sarajevo and drew upon the local cultural *milieu* to get its message across. This, I believe, is not coincidental and has to do with Sarajevo's reputation as the most Yugoslav city of Yugoslavia. If it was the case that Bosnia & Herzegovina was the most Yugoslav republic in a sense that it was the most harmoniously multi-cultural and, in that, a model of what the whole country was supposed to be and function like, then Sarajevo, as the most Bosnian city of all (meaning the most multi-cultural, open, and unsuspecting of the 'others'), was, by the same token, the epicenter of a specifically Yugoslav brand of socio-cultural arrangement. In other words, Sarajevo was in many respects Yugoslavia condensed to one city. In the context of the *New Primitives* and, particularly, the *New Partisans*, this meant that any change (be it in a positive or a negative direction) in the nature of Yugoslavia's socio-cultural orientation was first sensed within Sarajevo's cultural *milieu*, and not necessarily in any 'big way' but more in the way ordinary people responded to the change in the nature of 'immediate multi-cultural relations' — i.e. the ways in which many cultural communities 'cohabiting' in the city changed their disposition towards one another. And given Sarajevo's avowed Yugoslavism, this would immediately translate into 'defense mechanisms' for staving off any real or perceived danger to its (and, on the larger scale, Yugoslavia's) multi-cultural harmony always being first put to work there. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that in the climate of increasing 'de-Yugoslavization' of both immediate and national socio-cultural space, Sarajevo's musicians were the first to respond and offer 'new partisanism'[140] as a way of counteracting the dangers of increasingly evident nationalistic and xenophobic tendencies in the country.

The *New Partisans* advocacy of 'original Yugoslavism' through a poetics of the patriotic had three distinct, but interrelated, 'logics in use': (1) socio-political, (2) socio-cultural, and (3) moral-ethical. The first one was grounded in the premise that crucial for combating the de-Yugoslavization of the country's national space was the process of relaxing the rigidity of an official political ideology and a broadening of the country's political field so as to accommodate the multiple and not necessarily congruent political voices and perspectives. From the viewpoint of this position, the most productive way of addressing the crisis of Yugoslav socialist community was coming to terms with the narrowness of its political process and staving off 'anti-communist' tendencies by making them legitimate dimensions of the overall Yugoslav political experience. This perspective was advocated most prominently by Goran Bregović and his concept of 'Yugoslav idea of a somewhat different type'.

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[140] The first organized attempt to re-introduce 'partisanism' occurred in the fall of 1972 under the slogan of 'nicely fitting partisan jacket' (*lijepo stoji partizanska bluza*). The overall intent of the action was to resist the destructive influence of 'imperialism' (i.e. cultural Westernization of Yugoslav society) and appeal for a 'return to true moral values' of Yugoslav society. The 'operation' had two fronts of action — music and fashion — and was, as one of the high officials of Yugoslav Peoples Army put is, a "happy marriage of partisan spirit and attire" (in Luković 1989d: 255). The musical front had a task of invoking the spirit of 'true moral values' by offering songs that celebrated the heroic partisan legacy and values of World War II partisan liberation struggle, while the fashion front had the function of recreating the partisan revolutionary spirit by (re)introducing revolutionary 'designer clothes'. Thus, the overall aim was to arm Yugoslav youth with an appropriate spirit and appropriate style and, in doing so, invoke a sense of proper and authentic moral/ideological disposition. Despite best intentions, however, the 'nicely fitting partisan jacket' action was a short-lived, one season, effort: 'buttressed with a pomp and revolutionary slogans, the action failed at the most important level — that of the market. The clothes were piling up in the warehouses of *Kluz* [one of Yugoslavia's biggest clothing manufacturers and retailers], while the unscrupulous youth kept on wearing the menacing jeans with 'Made in USA' tags' (Luković 1989d: 255).

The crucial difference between the 'nicely fit partisan jacket' action and the *praxis* of *New Partisans* was that the former was animated 'from above' while the latter welled up 'from below'.

The socio-cultural logic of *New Partisans'* poetics of the patriotic saw reinforcement of the values of 'revolutionary Yugoslavism' — that is, 'revolutionary cultural spirit' of World War II Partisan struggle — as essential in combating the nationalistic and xenophobic tendencies in the country. According to this position, the most troublesome aspect of increasing partialization and tearing of Yugoslavia's socio-cultural space was the destruction of the country's cultural platform and the rise of virulently chauvinistic cultural expressions fundamentally antithetical to the original cultural spirit of Yugoslav society as multi-cultural socialist community. From this point of view, confronting the forces of socio-cultural de-Yugoslavization required a reanimation of the Yugoslav multi-cultural spirit and advocacy of an inclusivist form of cultural experience through revival of the most exemplary of the Partisan 'socio-cultural tradition'. The principal proponent of this notion was Saša Lošić and his band *Plavi orkestar*.

Finally, the moral-ethical logic of 'new partisanism' saw the vacuity of the general 'normative field' as the principal source of the Yugoslav socio-cultural and political crisis. From this perspective, the main tearer of the country's inter-national relations was the prevailing attitude of moral-ethical nihilism which encouraged self-centeredness and estranged Yugoslav peoples from one another and, ultimately, themselves. Crucial for the preservation of Yugoslav community, from this point of view, was a re-enchantment of socio-cultural and political interactions and practices by actively advocating a return to the humanist-socialist values of (revolutionary) Partisan morality and ethics. The latter, as advocated most prominently by Dino Dervišhalilović and his concept of 'entire Yugoslavia one courtyard' (*cijela Juga jedna avlija*), were the only viable means of (re)connecting the derailed present with the foundational past.

What I wish to do in this chapter is to examine in detail the socio-political, socio-cultural, and moral-ethical dimensions of *New Partisans'* poetics of the patriotic and discuss the ways in which they informed the philosophy and *praxis* of the three most important *New Partisans* rock-bands — *Bijelo dugme*, *Plavi orkestar*, and *Merlin*. In particular, I will establish a connection between specific assumptions about the nature of Yugoslav society that underlie the socio-political, socio-cultural and moral-ethical 'logics' of the *New Partisans Weltanschauung*, and their artistic-aesthetic translations in the form of music projects of each of their three respective advocates — Goran Bregović, Saša Lošić, and Dino Dervišhalilović. The principal argument of the chapter is that the essence of *New Partisans* is best understood as a form of socio-political *praxis* whose central preoccupation was an effort to (re)instate 'original Yugoslavism' as the linchpin of Yugoslavia's popular-cultural — and, ultimately, general soci(et)al — *conscience collectif*, and, in doing so, to forge a mechanism of socio-political resistance to political, cultural, and moral-ethical de-Yugoslavization of the Yugoslav socialist community.

Let me begin with Goran Bregović and his concept of the 'Yugoslav idea of a somewhat different type'.

Goran Bregović: 'Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia'

In many respects, Goran Bregović is the most important rock-musician in Yugoslav rock'n'roll. As the leader of his band *Bijelo dugme* he effectively introduced a viable form of rock-music into Yugoslavia's cultural landscape, and transformed it from a marginal socio-cultural phenomenon to a centrally important expression of youth experience and Yugoslav youth culture. On a broader cultural plane, Bregović, as we have seen in Chapter 4, figured as the very first 'Yugoslav idol' and a person who in very important ways — through his music and 'public word' — shaped the parameters of the country's popular-cultural discourse. Although throughout his career Bregović would persistently denounce any responsibility for a wider social and cultural influence, he undoubtedly understood that he and his music were of socio-cultural consequence. He was, after all, the first one to fight many popular-cultural battles and confront some important societal taboos, and eventually — with the *New Partisans* — attempt a 'cultural revolution' of his own. But we are getting a bit ahead of ourselves here.

In the early phase of his career, Bregović's impact was principally socio-cultural and about expanding the boundaries of Yugoslav popular music and, subsequently, broadening the horizons of artistic thought and expression. On *Bijelo dugme*'s first couple of records, the band offered world-class but, in the end, conventional (although in Yugoslav terms revolutionary) form of rock'n'roll, dealing with 'non-problematic' themes and topics. The only explicit socio-cultural reflection offered was the song "Šta bi dao da si na mom mjestu" ("What Would You Give to Be in My Place"), which was Bregović's 'deconstruction' of his (imposed) stature as a 'Yugoslav idol'. Otherwise, Bregović and his band were playing it safe and, as we have seen in Chapter 3, waging their battles elsewhere.

The impact of the 'punk ethos' on Yugoslav rock'n'roll consciousness resulted in Bregović moving closer to the terrain of socio-cultural engagement and, perhaps for the first time, acknowledging the importance of the 'space between the notes' in rock-music (see Chapter 4). In line with his new framework of thinking, Bregović offered his first explicit social commentary in the form of a song "Eto! Baš hoću!" ("There! I Really Want To!"). Although tremendously important because it stirred up a cultural uproar in the country and, on a more general plane, foreshadowed the soon-to-follow *New Wave* developments, Bregović's 'quarrel' with society was a one-time venture into the uncharted waters of engaged music. Even as the new wave of Yugoslav rock'n'roll became explicitly engaged and acquired increasingly overt political[141] overtones, Bregović himself remained fairly muted in his exercise of the 'new rock'n'roll spirit and sensibility'. While he was clearly and openly sympathetic to the new developments on Yugoslav rock-scene, there was surprisingly little to suggest that he himself had taken the full 'substantive turn' and gone the route of explicit socio-political engagement.

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[141] One of the fundamental questions in dealing with social engagement in Yugoslav rock'n'roll is the one of politics, or rock's political consciousness. A useful distinction here is one between political and ideological consciousness, as these two seem to be 'different beasts' as far as the Yugoslav 'cultural mind' goes. In fairly straightforward terms, the former for the most part refers to taking issues with daily and therefore transient affairs of society, while the latter has to do with the focus on the underlying socio-political and general societal dynamics and undercurrents. The distinction, thus, is the one of 'appearance' vs. 'essence'. To be political, in this context, is to offer immediate and unmediated commentaries about the world one is confronted with daily (Bora Đorđević is perhaps the best example of a political rocker here); to be ideological has to do with unmasking the deeper structures underlying daily politics (understood in the broadest possible sense). While Yugoslav rock'n'roll in general and the *New Wave* in particular had their political moments and spoke about the immediately political from time to time, rock'n'roll's political consciousness, when present, was much more ideological and oriented towards the underlying generalities of socio-political realities.

In many respects, Bregović's muted social engagement within the realm of politics is tied to his views about the nature of 'being political' in Yugoslav rock'n'roll. In his view, to deal with the matter of politics is to deal with the state as an explicitly political organ, and he does not see a need or possibility for this in any serious fashion. As he puts it on more than one occasion, "I do not believe in explicit politics, and to do explicitly political songs would be akin to kids going to take over a police station with rubber guns" (in Tomić and Đorem 1986a: 7). For Bregović, being political implies, in the final instance, being against the Yugoslav state (and the system as such), something that is unproductive and against the dominant sentiment of rockers as 'public intellectuals'. As he puts it:

> We can now bullshit the entire afternoon against the state, but in very predictable places a person feels patriotic. In those typical situations abroad, in conversations with aggressive Western intellectuals, all of a sudden you discover the feeling of 'Not against the state, not against the Party…'. In those situations, everyone is the same… (Bregović in Bachrach and Bachrach 1983: 16)

For Bregović, the only meaningful way to approach politics in art (at least in his) is to explore the consequences of politics on real people rather than to get engaged in the reality of daily politics itself.[142] (see, for example, n/a 1984: 10).

The main problem with being political, in Bregović's view, is what he calls 'comfortable rebellion', i.e. a form of dissent that will not bear the real consequences of an implication of true political engagement. For Bregović, this is a provincial form of political 'rebellion' that yearns for heroic recognition without the stomach for the bludgeon of revolutionary activity. As he puts it rather colorfully:

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[142] In Bregović's view, the epoch of grand ideas and social projects is behind us and what we are left with to 'revolutionize ourselves', in a sense — i.e. to find a way to resolve our own individual 'metaphysical problems'. By this Bregović means carving our own individual freedom amidst the totalizing environment which surrounds us and which demands of us obedience to a particular way of understanding the world, which he calls 'indoctrination'. Thus, 'individual freedom' that Bregović contemplates is the possibility to have one's own view of the world and to be able to formulate it against the existing and prevailing 'group psychology' in society. For Bregović, resolving one's own 'metaphysical problem' through the ability to passively resist the senseless indoctrination of your social environment is, ultimately, a form of 'radical freedom' which he calls 'anarchy' — i.e. the ability to introduce, no matter how individualized, an alternative system of values and, in doing so, put to test, if not to question, the taken-for-granted assumptions of 'good life' and living (see Vukojević 1983: 19).

> In the final analysis, it is the dream of all provincials to die with the words on their lips, "I do not recognize your court but only the court of the Party", or to enter history on a picture like the one of Filip Filipović with his hands spread[143]. But the fucked up thing is that before and after the picture they beat you with a bludgeon so it is somewhat uncomfortable. It is nice to be part of history but it hurts, so all those wanting it have a hard time bearing it. (Bregović in Bachrach and Bachrach 1983: 16)

For Bregović then, being political means being ready to 'put your money where your mouth is' and that is something not many — if any — are willing to do. Thus, in the context of contemporary political engagement the matter remains essentially at the level of political theatrics and is, as such, in Bregović's view, inauthentic, insincere and, in the end, irresponsible. This view is bolstered by his belief that, in terms of Yugoslav rock-music, "not one single rock song is explicitly political but only partially politicized in an attempt to help make things better" . For Bregović, this is as far as Yugoslav rock'n'roll is willing and ought to go. Anything else would be a pose without much substance.[144]

Bregović's opposition to comfortable rebellion, however, does not run counter to his belief in rock-music's socio-political engagement, but only expresses explicitly his position against rock'n'roll's overt political intentions. As he puts it, "I do not believe that I have to put my song in the service of bringing someone down from a political throne and replacing him with somebody else; that is neither possible … nor even if it would be would I have my song servicing that cause!" (Bregović in Simić 1984a: 30). In Bregović's view, the essence of rock'n'roll's socio-political engagement at its most significant is in offering a system of values alternative to the official, possible only because of rock'n'roll's status as the only *de facto* existing organized alternative force in Yugoslav society. Bregović, however, is careful to point out that the rock'n'roll's alternative system of values[145] does not have a destructively undermining effect on society but is, on the contrary, "good for socialism!"[146] (Bregović in Simić 1984a: 30). Hence, rock'n'roll's social engagement as a constructive, rather than destructive, contribution to society[147].

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[143] Bregović's reference to Tito's famous line during the 'Bomber process' trials and to a well-known picture of a Yugoslav World-War II partisan.

[144] See Simić's interview with the poet Duško Trifunović for a very similar position on rock'n'roll's engagement and politicization: "I don't believe that any of our leading musicians strayed into the waters of explicit politicization; it is, generally speaking, wrong of them to think in the first place that they can create an idea with their music. They cannot create [political] ideas; to put it somewhat pathetically, they can only be either in service of their people or in confrontation with them" (Trifunović in Simić 1984b: 8). Incidentally, Trifunović was Bregović's long-standing collaborator who wrote some of the most poetic lyrics for *Bijelo dugme*'s grand ballads.

Fundamentally, Bregović's attitudes towards 'rock'n'roll as political means' are reflective of his overall political position of being an 'unorganized communist by conviction' (*neorganizovan uvjereni komunist*), i.e. someone sympathetic to the idea of communism (or as he would later put it, 'someone who has trouble with a communist conscience') but not organizationally integrated into any structure of communist political *praxis*. As he puts it, "objectively, [communism] is the only ideology of which one can say that it is fine. Any other ideology neglects someone. ... The fact than not everything works the way it is supposed to suggests that perhaps some things could be fine-tuned; a bit on their side, a bit on ours" (Bregović in Simić 1984a: 30). On being 'unorganized', Bregović observes that "perhaps I do my job of being a communist best by writing good songs, by doing that well..." (Bregović in Simić 1984a: 31). This would suggest that Bregović sees a wider and constructive place and role of his music in the context of the overall society. Yet, these are not perceived in any radical or revolutionary terms, for as he puts it "not even tanks as such can change things, let alone songs" (Bregović in Simić 1984a: 31). Therefore, he sees his overall ideological stance as 'left apathy', i.e. as "being on the left but without a firm belief that in my lifetime I can do something significant being on that side" (Bregović in Simić 1984a: 31). In the course of the late 1980's, however, Bregović's 'left apathy' will gradually shift towards being 'proactively left'. But that is the era of *New Partisans* and Bregović's newly found poetics of the patriotic.

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[145] On the notion of rock'n'roll as an alternative system of values Bregović says the following:

> Rock'n'roll is a medium that won freedom within the media system because it brings in a lot of money. … That is not a small thing. … rock'n'roll is the only free media, therefore free to be, if you will, somewhat of an alternative political thought with a large number of people on its side. … A lot of talented people in rock'n'roll have the freedom to live differently. It is hard to say that the importance of rock'n'roll lies in the song alone. Rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia is more important as a template outside of the template. My generation is the last generation to which you could say: "Be good and life will repay you good". I think that rock'n'roll changes this quite a bit in Yugoslavia. Because my generation who believed in that fairytale had very little good in return. The best people from my generation ended up with some bureaucratic jobs and still without their own place to live[, while] myself, who was a brute of the worst kind, managed in the end to show that there is a system of values different from the one we had been socialized into. In other words, not everything is measurable by "be good and things will come back good to you" … There is a good for punks, for those who want to be socialized on their own. What I mean is that rock'n'roll is not important [because of] the song[;] it is also important because the people from the margins, i.e. the people who got socialized their own way and who think differently from the way one is supposed to, showed that there is also a space and place for them to live and work. […] What I'm saying is that the song doesn't speak the factual essence of rock'n'roll. The essence of rock'n'roll is spoken more through people living a particular lifestyle. You know, you cannot say that rock'n'roll is the song alone. The hell it is! What I'm talking about is people who through a particular medium managed to establish visible criteria that one can live this way too. (Bregović in Nikolić 1982b: 49-50)

[146] He would sum up his views on the matter in 1990 in a following way:

> I always thought that rock'n'roll in communist countries was of much more importance than in the West. It was, as a matter of fact, the only — albeit spontaneous, also organized to a degree — form of alternative consciousness. The hundred thousands of people who bought records were after all getting a message completely different from that of the Party. Of course, things today are completely different, and rock'n'roll cannot have that kind of a role. Its whole strength was in the fact that there was no other organized alternative thought. Rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia today is the same as rock'n'roll in the West. (Bregović in Loza 1990a: 36)

[147] Similar point is made by Avdić who writes in reference to *New Wave*:

> Events on Yugoslav rock'n'roll scene in the last five years clearly indicate that rock cannot be limited to its musical aspect: first and foremost rock'n'roll has become a means of having an attitude towards everything and, especially towards surrounding social circumstances. A more radical writer would perhaps go as far as to claim that no means of artistic communication has, to such a degree, been so strong and productive a witness of our time and us in it. (Avdić 1983a: 9)

Bregović's Yugoslavia of a Somewhat Different Type

Bregović's gradual shift from the position of 'left apathy' to being 'proactively left' is influenced by two destructive tendencies within Yugoslav society that surfaced in the early 1980's and peaked in the mid-decade: increasing ethno-nationalism within the Yugoslav political discourse, and the ever-growing tearing of country's socio-cultural fabric along the non-civic lines. In Bregović's view, the two tendencies were very much informed by one another and were rooted in the apparent inability of Yugoslav leadership to relax the ideological rigidness of the political system and broaden the country's political discourse. This, in Bregović's view, was highly problematic not only for the current state of being of the Yugoslav nation but also for its long-term survival. And as someone with declared sympathies for the idea(l) of the socialist Yugoslav community, Bregović was interested in its survival rather than in its tearing apart. Hence, his 'new partisanism'.

At the root of Bregović's *New Partisans* engagement is, as he puts it, the 'Yugoslav idea of a somewhat different type'. What he has in mind, essentially, is Yugoslav society open to a plurality of voices and opinions — a fully democratic social space with fully democratized social and, especially, political institutions accommodating enough for a situation of "three people who don't think the same way sharing the same place" (in Velički 1986: 23). According to Bregović, Yugoslavia's biggest problem is the discrepancy between the general ideological development and the overall social development: while society in general has made tremendous steps forward in just about any sphere of social life, the understanding of ideology and the 'political worldview' had remained at the level of post-World War II rigidity and narrowness. This, in Bregović's view, was having a tremendously retarding impact on the whole society since 'ideological rigidness' and the inability to accept the possibility of 'thinking otherwise' within one socio-cultural space were creating all sorts of 'inter-civic' tensions, with the potential of turning into open national(istic) antagonisms. For Bregović, the most significant manifestation of the existing 'ideological rigidity' in Yugoslav society was the officialdom's tendency to declare any form of disagreement, criticism and/or disenchantment — or, as he calls them, 'anti-communism' — as nationalism. The danger of this 'propaganda mistake' (as Bregović puts it) is the consequence of the 'irrational manufacturing of nationalists' with the potential to attract people who otherwise do not think of themselves along the nationalist lines but are, like 'real nationalists', dissatisfied with certain aspects of the society, and can therefore identify with the 'nationalistic ideas' propagated by those branded as nationalists by the regime. As Bregović explains:

> It is normal that there are anti-communists when communists have not fulfilled everyone's expectations. It is normal that there are people who do not believe that — according to Marx's theory — the working class will solve the problems of all classes. … It is normal that there are people who think that the worker who is the workers' representative, and is in a position of authority in the name of the workers, does not have the class interest identical to the worker who gave him the right to govern in his name. There are as many people who think for the state, as there are those who think otherwise. (in Velički 1986: 23).

The big problem, in Bregović's view, is that "we declare every anticommunist as nationalist, which is not true. And we already feel the consequences of this. We are producing the nationalists quite irrationally. ... There is nothing there but a propaganda mistake" (in Velički 1986: 23). He says elsewhere, "the state is guilty of declaring any anticommunism as nationalism. They shouldn't be channeling it that way, for if they keep on insisting on it, Croats will start hating Serbs and Serbs Croats" (in Tomić and Đorem 1986a: 7). In light of this (and the current situation of increased national tensions), the most important task, according to Bregović, is to advocate a 'civilizational move forward' and propagate Yugoslavia as an open society broad enough for a non-confrontational existence of the multiplicity of different ideas, no matter how opposing and seemingly incompatible. As he puts it, "the humanity had invented *bon ton* so that four people who cannot stand each other can sit at the table and have lunch without slashing each other with utensils" (in Vesić 1986b: 10). In the same way, Yugoslav society, if it is to make a necessary 'civilizational move forward', ought to come up with some sort of an 'inter-civic *bon ton*' that will enable socio-cultural encounters based on tolerance and acceptance rather than ideological exclusivism. Ultimately, Bregović's shift from the position of 'left apathy' to being 'proactively left' and to the *New Partisans* (Bregović's coinage first mentioned in Vesić 1986b: 11) is, as he puts it, his "small contribution to this constructive idea".

One of the central aspects of Bregović's 'new partisanism' is his position that the 'problem of Yugoslavia' is not necessarily the 'problem of communists' and that, correspondingly, the resolution of the former does not necessarily imply the 'abolition' of the latter. To this effect he states:

> my sympathies for the ruling party are obvious. The mere fact that there is a social healthcare system and free education is enough to support the sympathy. That is the guaranteed minimum of human dignity that does not exist in other countries. And this new bourgeoisie now wishes to buttress some sort of capitalism which works perfectly in America but here would create evil. Objectively, therefore, the communists are an opportunity for the people. ... Of the people who lived on this soil in the last thousand years, it is not possible to find a better generation. ... The Turks have dominated here for five hundred years with only a few sporadic uprisings. With very

> sporadic resistance, the Croats were banged by whoever happened to come by, and basically whoever wanted to was coming by. …. The communists are therefore my favorites in the history of the people here. That generation is really to be admired. (Bregović in Luković 1989e: 311)

Doubtless, Bregović does not believe that Yugoslavia's 'civilizational move forward' requires a change in the political leadership of the country; rather, what is needed is a change in the communists' frame of mind and a loosening of the ideological rigidness characteristic of the ruling party, which would serve as a catalyst of a sort for a 'society-wide thaw' and contribute to the relaxing of the country's (increasingly nationalistic) inter-civic encounters.

How is it that Bregović — contrary to the popular opinion of the day — does not see the communists as the root of Yugoslavia's problem? This, I believe, is based in his understanding of society and the overall dynamic of social life within the confines of (and this is important because of Bregović's dislike for nationalism) *civically defined* national space. His overall 'philosophy of society' is contained in a pithy statement that "humanity has invented the state so that people of different convictions can live together in the same space" (in Vesić 1986b: 10). Thus, to put it simply, in Bregović's view to live in a society is to be surrounded by — and, by extension, to learn to live with — unlike minds; correspondingly, the primary dynamic of social life in any society is to negotiate the fine balance between the multiplicity of unlike minds and to create a social space accommodating to all of them[148]. In this context, the problem of Yugoslavia's 'ideological rigidness' and the 'political monoculture' it invites is not of itself the fault of the communists alone but, as Bregović sees it, essential any form of authority. Therefore, the problem of Yugoslavia will not be resolved by getting rid of the communist 'ideological monoculture' and replacing it by an alternative (and most likely nationalist) political discourse, but rather by the ability of the society to break away from 'ideological monoculturalism' and broaden the discourse of its socio-cultural and political field. As Bregović sees it, replacing the communists with someone else would ultimately mean replacing one form of dominant thought with the other, which in the end, and from the viewpoint of Bregović's understanding of social life, is a change in form rather than substance. Rather than replacing the 'dominant thought', the point for Bregović is to relax it and to make it more acceptable of the multiplicity of unlike (political) minds existing in the society. And this is the work that any society, regardless of the form of government it has, needs to do at one point or another. For Yugoslavia, the time for that work is, in Bregović's view, long overdue.

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[148] Bregović, in effect, closely approximates Štulić's idea of freedom laid out in *Azra*'s song "Sloboda" (see Chapter 5).

On a more practical level, Bregović does not see a need to do away with the communists because in fact they had been more than successful in providing the 'guaranteed minimum of human dignity' and taking fairly good care of the people. Their track record in that regard is, in Bregović's eyes, quite remarkable. One could assume that for Bregović the legitimate reasons to contemplate doing away with the existing form of authority would be the following: (1) if the government is not providing for the people in terms of the required and expected services and processes; and (2) if the government would be, in the long run, incapable of relaxing its 'ideological rigidness' and creating a '*bon ton*' for multi-perspectival civic encounters. In general, both appear to be equally important to Bregović, but given Yugoslavia's nationalization of socio-cultural and political life, the second reason appears to be having an upper hand. He will stress the importance of an 'inter-civic *bon ton*' once again, not only as the precondition for the country's 'civilizational move forward' but also as a necessity for Yugoslavia's integration into the community of civilized nations:

> Speaking of Europe, in order to get closer to it the first condition for us is to learn civilized behavior. And that means to learn to live together with those who think differently from us rather than beat them with the bludgeon. ... If we don't learn to live this way, we will never be civilized. (in Luković 1989e: 312)

As the 1980's were drawing to a close it became evermore apparent that Yugoslav communist leadership was either unwilling or unable of relaxing its 'ideological rigidness' and broadening the country's political field. Instead of 'turning civilized' the communist political ideology took the 'nationalist turn' and, to Bregović's disillusionment, abandoned the possibility of the 'Yugoslav idea of a somewhat different type'. Losing the political foothold, Bregović — at least publicly — put to rest his *New Partisans* engagement, dismembered his band *Bijelo dugme*, and withdrew into 'private emotional Yugoslavism'.

Bijelo Dugme*: 'Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia'*

Bregović's foray into using his art as a platform for a socio-political engagement began in 1983 with the album *Uspavanka za Radmilu M.* (*A Lullaby for Radmila M.*) and the song "Kosovska". Reacting to the Serbian-Albanian ethnic tensions in the country's southern region of Kosovo, Bregović wrote the first ever Yugoslav rock'n'roll song in Albanian as an attempt to bridge the gap between the two communities and establish, at least through art, an inter-ethnic dialogue. The song reflected Bregović's general attitude — later fully developed within his particular brand of 'new partisanism' — about 'unlike minds learning to live together' as a precondition for civility and civil(ized) society. In specific terms, the Albanian lyrics in the songs were Bregović's attempt to break the 'linguistic-communication' barrier between the Serbo-Croatian majority and Albanian minority (which existed because the two communities spoke different languages) by having the former learn at least a few words of the latter's language and, if only through his song, communicate in unison. Reflecting on the importance of Bregović's engagement, Krstić writes the following:

> If one were to put it bombastically, one could say that with "Kosovska" Yugoslav rock'n'roll revolution penetrates all regions of Yugoslavia and that ought to generate — even if Bregović is unaware of what he is working on — significant consequences. On the plane of daily politics, he has done more against the counter-revolution in Kosovo with this song than all other political forums with their sloganly conclusions. Not to mention that Bregović made a million people for the first time ever sing in a language of one of our peoples and of the nationally they effectively do not understand. One now only needs to wait for some sort of rock'n'roll scene to emerge in Albania itself, which is something that today appears inevitable.[149] (Krstić 1983: 15)

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[149] While Krstić might have been somewhat overly enthusiastic about inter-national ramifications of Bregović's proactive political stance, he was, it would appear, on the right track (or so it seemed in 1983) as far as local effects were concerned. Bregović's "Kosovska" did indeed become the most popular song on the record and, as far as rock-music goes, the most popular song in Albanian ever in Yugoslavia. Due to its popularity Bregović's *Bijelo dugme* for the first time in its career played concerts in Kosovo.

In hindsight, Bregović will characterize this episode as a 'revolution that failed' (because, other than temporarily, it failed to realize his expectations), but the experience with "Kosovska" would nonetheless reorient him towards more explicit social engagement and further 'politicization of his music aesthetics'.

Bregović's explicit advocacy of Yugoslavism as an ideological counter-force to the rising tide of increasingly exclusivist political discourses in the country would take center stage on *Bijelo dugme*'s 1984 self-titled album. The record opens with the rendition of the national anthem (the 'song in crisis') as, effectively, Bregović's call to 'rise above the present'. As he puts it: '["Hey, Slavs!"] is a very beautiful song. It is ... above current politics. The song doesn't serve any current political option, but is a song about the people. I mean, everything changes but the hapless Slavs, standing here where they are with their song' (Bregović in Nikolić 1984: 52):

Hej Sloveni, jošte živi duh naših djedova	Hey, Slavs, the spirit of our forefathers still lives on
dok za narod srce bije njihovih sinova	while the hearts of their sons are still beating for the people
živi, živi duh slovenski, živjećeš vjekov'ma	live on the Slav spirit, you'll live on forever
zalud prijeti ponor pakla, zalud vatra groma	in vain the threats of hell's abyss, in vain the thunder's fire
Nek' se sada i nad nama burom sve raznese	Let the storm tear everything down above us
stijena puca, dub se lama, zemlja nek' se trese	let the stones crumble, the oaks break, and the earth shake
mi stojimo postojano kano klisurine	we'll still stand up straight like the crags
proklet bio izdajica svoje domovine	damned is the traitor of his homeland

At the lyrical level, the song is, in effect, Bregović's call to stand up for Yugoslavism and togetherness in the face of the forces threatening to rip (Yugo-)Slavs apart. At the musical level, the rendition operates as a symbolic expression of the eternal in 'Slâvism': starting off with a guitar riff/solo and continuing with the pounding drum beat with the folkloric female vocals laid over, the *mélange* of the traditional and the modern is evocative of the compatibility and connectedness of the new and the old — the present and the past — and, in this, the sense of timelessness of (Yugo)slavism. Bregović would reflect on the idea behind his rendition of the national anthem in this way:

> Yugoslavia as an idea interests me very much. Besides, I saw ... when I put the anthem on the record and when it's played on our big shows that people are, effectively, Yugoslavs. Individually we are petty and wretched, but when put in a situation that requires togetherness, we really know how to be together. (Bregović in Vesić 1986b: 10)

Ultimately, the song was Bregović's means for 'putting the people in a situation of togetherness'.

The second key song on the record, "Lipe cvatu, sve je isto kao i lani" ("The Linden is Flowering, Nothing has Changed Since the Last Year"), again encapsulates both lyrically and musically the essence of Bregović's Yugoslavism. The song places even greater emphasis on the use of folkloric elements in the service of reconnecting with the past, and amplifies the effect by pairing the music with a set of lyrics dealing with the traditional themes of love and yearning — topped off with a southern (i.e., 'Yugo') version of Slavic sentimentality:

Ljeto ide, kako si mi ti	The summer's coming - how are you?
gdje si, s kim si, da mi je znati	I wish I could know where you are and with whom
ko li mi te ugrijao	who was warming you up
dok je zimus snjeg padao	when it was snowing last winter
ko li mi te ljubio, bog ga ubio	who was kissing you – God punish him
Baš me briga gdje si otišla	I don't care where you go
ravna ti je Jugoslavija	go wherever you want – it's all Yugoslavia
baš me briga, nisi djete	I don't care, you are not a child
sve u korist tvoje štete	but it's your loss
samo tvoje, al' i moje srce boluje	the loss is yours, but my heart is aching
Zaklinjem se dušom i bogom	I swear by my soul and by God
krvi svojom plavom seljačkom	by my blue peasant blood
zaklinjem se, i umrijet ću	I swear, I will die
ali ja te tražit' neću	but I won't look for you
neću, neću, a umrijet ću, a umrijet ću	I won't, and I'll die
Lipe cvatu	The linden is flowering
sve je isto k'o i lani, hej	nothing has changed since last year
samo srce moje i srce tvoje	Except my heart and your heart
u ljubavi više ne stoje	are not in love any more

The Yugoslavism of the song is nuanced and crafted as an intersection of the folkloric musical and lyrical elements, with the Slavic temperament permeating throughout conveyed by an attentive rock-tinged vocal. If "Kosovska" was Bregović's first Albanian rock song, "Lipe cvatu ..." was his first unequivocally Yugoslav song, meant to invoke a country-wide trans-ethnic closeness by striking the Slavic cord within the audience throughout the country. Ultimately, what Bregović was after with "Lipe cvatu ..." was crafting a direct line for tapping into 'emotional Yugoslavism' and bringing it out in full force.

The 1986 follow-up to *Bijelo dugme*'s self-titled LP — *Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo* ("Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia") — is the centerpiece of Bregović's socio-political engagement and the artistic springboard for launching his *New Partisans* platform of the 'Yugoslav idea of a somewhat different type'. The concept behind the record is strongly influenced by Bregović's conviction that "Yugoslav idea appears to be more civilized than the insistence on national divisions the way we do it" (Bregović in Bakić 1988b: 20). As such, it is informed by the spirit of resistance against the increasingly potent anti-Yugoslav element — ethno-nationalism[150].

Musically, the radicalization and concretization of Bregović's engagement is expressed through the borrowing from the Partisan revolutionary music idiom and revolutionary political tradition. The Yugoslavism from the previous record is thus respecified as explicit 'partisanism', and the call for togetherness through an appeal to common Slavism is remodeled as the 'call to arms' through the re-revolutionization of the patriotic spirit. In this context, Bregović's call to 'rise above the present' shifted from the terrain of invoking the mythical-ancestral to stirring up the real-revolutionary. The record's title track, "Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo", encapsulates the essence of Bregović's *New Partisans* revolutionary Yugoslavism:

Pljuni I zapjevaj, moja Jugoslavijo!	Spit and sing, my Yugoslavia!
matero i maćeho, tugo moja i utjeho	my mother, stepmother, my sorrow and consolation
moje srce, moja kućo stara,	my heart, my old house
moja dunjo iz ormara,	my quince from the cupboard
moja nevjesto, moja ljepotice,	my bride, my beauty
moja sirota kraljice,	my poor queen
Jugo, Jugice...	Yugo, Yugoslavia
Ovaj hljeb, evo lomim,	This bread, I'm break it
moja Jugoslavijo,	my Yugoslavia
za tebe i bolje dane,	for you and the better days
konje neosedlane.	horses not saddled
ovdje kome ne porastu zubi,	if you don't toughen up here
e, kukala mu mati	eh, pity you
ovdje nikad neće čopor naći,	here no one will ever find his tribe
ko ne nauči urlati	without knowing how to howl
Ovaj hljeb, evo lomim,	This bread, I'm break it
moja Jugoslavijo,	my Yugoslavia
za tebe i bolje dane,	for you and the better days
konje neosedlane,	horses not saddled
moje srce, moja kućo stara,	my heart, my old house

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[150] Bregović's dislike of nationalism is seen very clearly in the following recollection:

> I remember out last tour as being very painful.... We would get on the stage, the lights would go off, and we would see a sea of Serbian flags — something completely new. The following day we played in Croatia, and it was the same sight — the dark, the lights, and a sea of Croatian flags. We had our buses spray-painted with 'Serbia über Alles' graffiti. The same would happen in Croatia, later on. This was before the gatherings and demonstrations. [Nationalism] was first seen at our concerts. This made me sick to my stomach and I couldn't wait for the tour to be over. (Bregović in Popović 2001: 6)

moja dunjo iz ormara,	my quince from the cupboard
moja nevjesto, moja ljepotice,	my bride, my beauty
moja sirota kraljice.	my poor queen
Jugoslavijo na noge	Rise up Yugoslavia
pjevaj nek' te čuju	sing – let them hear you
ko ne sluša pjesmu	whoever doesn't listen to the song
slušaće oluju!	will listen to the storm!

Bregović's statement that "quite possibly Yuga [a common term of endearment for Yugoslavia] hasn't had such a patriotic song, like the one I wrote, in a long time" (in Miletić 1986c: 33), and the highly emotional tone of the song's lyrics, reveal rather explicitly the commitment to his 'poor queen of Yugoslavia' and the preference for the revolutionary partisanism. Bregović will certify the latter with the opening track of the record and an introduction to "Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo" — the rendition of an old revolutionary song "Padaj silo i nepravdo!" ("Down, Might and Injustice!") — which he sings together with the living hero of the Partisan revolutionary struggle Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo and the choir of Sarajevo's orphaned children.

Musically, "Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo" is crafted around the antimony between 'Yugoslavia's song' and the 'storm' (standing for the rising ethno-nationalism). The flute opening, used to establish a connection to the Partisan tradition (for this well-known traditional instrument is also heavily used in Partisan times), is gradually mixed into the rising rock'n'roll crescendo which culminates in the bass-and-rhythm machine driven gallop — the driving force of the whole song. The gallop is suggestive of the gravity of the situation and the urgency of the cause; the only pause made is at the beginning of each chorus, when a plea is made for Yugoslavia to rise up and face the 'storm' with the strength and beauty of its song (i.e. all of its endearing qualities spelled out metaphorically at the beginning of the number). The ending of the song sees the beginning of the struggle, with the high-pitched sound symbolizing Yugoslavia's song, and the darker, tempestuous tones standing for the 'storm'. The ending closes with the battle fade-out, leaving the final outcome of the conflict hanging up in the air.

The record *Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo* was originally conceived by Bregović as an artistic incarnation of his *New Partisans* concept of 'Yugoslav idea of a somewhat different type', which was (as we have seen) centered on the broadening of Yugoslavia's political field and loosening of its ideological rigidity as the precondition for a 'civilizational move forward' of political pluralism. Thus, the record was to represent a symbiotic meeting point for the three seemingly incompatible ideological positions — Communist 'partisanism', Serbian 'dissidentism', and Croatian 'nationalism' — represented through either the work or participation of their most celebrated/problematic propagators: the revolutionary Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, the painter Mića Popović, and the singer Vice Vukov. But because, as Bregović puts it rather colorfully (in Vesić 1986b: 10), "suddenly people got scared shitless by the few names being mentioned around my record", and due to some friendly advice not to stir things up and refusals to realize the original graphic solution for the album's cover, *Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo* was ultimately released as a truncated 'politicization of an artistic aesthetic' and an incomplete complement to Bregović's advocacy for a 'civilization move forward'. In retrospect, Bregović's inability to produce the record as originally conceived was perhaps an indication that the official society was not ready for his 'Yugoslav idea of a somewhat different type'.

Bijelo dugme's last record *Ćiribiribela* is Bregović's final face-off with ethno-nationalism and his 'last call for sanity' in the face of a sombering realization of the possibility of the Deluge (symbolized by the album's cover which depicts the loading of Noah's ark). In many respects, Bregović's last declaration of Yugoslavism is a retreat into the realm of the intimate and the private, instigated by his disillusionment with the communist leadership (see Hadžifejzović 1988: 29; Popović 1990c: 9) and the notion that, perhaps, all that he has been advocating can, in the end, only be preserved at a personal emotional level. Bregović's 'turn inward' is best captured in the following statement:

> You know, Yugoslav concepts have not been held in high regard these past few years, and especially now. I am not sure that [Yugoslav] political option has currency at all. Nationalist options have a much greater currency[.] (Bregović in Bakić 1988b: 20)

Thus, Bregović's central preoccupation on *Ćiribiribela* is Yugoslavism as (the possibility of) a personal condition of being in the world rather than a grand political-ideological platform — i.e. as the possibility of preserving the Yugoslav within oneself as one's own spiritual and normative compass. This was significantly anticipated in the statement made a couple of years before the record's time:

> I think about [Yugoslavism] at the levels of the practical and the daily, in line with my own self-preservation. My father is a Croat and my mother is a Serb. Therefore I am neither sufficiently Croat nor sufficiently Serb. If I marry a Muslim, what will my child be? Purely out of self-preservation I have to fight for the Yugoslavs, because the Croats will go to Croatia, the Serbs to Serbia, but where will I stay — not to mention my child? (Bregović in Velički 1986: 23)

Bregović would more or less restate the position two years later, after the release of *Ćiribiribela*:

> I am Yugoslav! Why would I now need to insult someone?! I am from a mixed marriage and it would be stupid of me to make my choice and chose a side, and insult either my mother or my father.(Bregović in Bakić 1988b: 20)

This sentiment is clearly underscored with the opening and the closing song of the record. The former, the album's title track, is Bregović's contemplation of a hideout as possibly the only option of preserving one's inner self in the face of war, as is suggested by the song's lyrics:

Ako se sutra zarati	If the war breaks out tomorrow
moja mala šta ćemo ja i ti	what would we do, my baby
vrata zaključati	lock the door
prozore zatvoriti	close the windows
spustiti zavjese	draw the curtain
ostaćemo kući i ljubit' se	stay home and kiss
A kad počne pucati	And when the shooting starts
preko glave ćemo se pokriti	we'll cover our heads
ispod male dekice	underneath the small blanket
ja i ti i zvjezdice	you and me and the stars
grickaćemo grožđe	we'll nibble the grapes
čekaćemo rat da prođe	and wait for the war to end

The song's theme of trying to answer the question of 'where will I go?' is couched in a rather festive rhythmic antidote, but the latter's disquietingly cheerful mood and a somewhat strained upbeat tempo are suggestive of its artificialness and displacement: the somber nature of the musing simply cannot be dressed up, at least not completely. The record's closing song, "Lijepa naša" ("Our Beautiful"), reads as a dream-like sensation where the Serbo-Croatian harmony is symbolized in the chorus-merging of parts of the two (as branded by the official regime) nationalist songs — one from Serbia, one from Croatia:

Ponekad sanjam letimo	Sometimes I dream we are flying
letimo sami k'o ukleti	flying as if cursed
sanjam vjetar sjeverac	I dream a northern wind
krila umara	it's wearing out my wings
a ja i ti sokol i sokolica	me and you, two falcons
tražimo rame sokolara	looking for a falconer's shoulder
Ponekad božić sanjam	Sometimes I dream of Christmas
onda me bude vozovi	and then I get awoken by the trains
sa moga jastuka ka jugu putuju	heading south from my pillow
tamo gdje moje srce stanuje	to where my heart dwells
tamo na božić za mnom tuguju	to where they miss me during Christmas
Lijepa naša domovino	Our beautiful homeland
oj junačka zemljo mila	our dear heroic country
tamo daleko	far and away
daleko od mora	far away from the sea

The desire for harmonious unity is expressed in the first two verses, as the falcons flying from the south to the north and the trains heading south. The meeting point (the realization of harmony, that is) is accentuated by the song's chorus which opens with a Croatian song "Lijepa naša" ("Our Beautiful"), and ends with a Serbian song "Tamo daleko" ("Far and Away"). Offered as the narrator's dream, however, the very last song of *Bijelo dugme*'s grand *oeuvre* may ultimately reflect Bregović's perhaps unconscious realization that the Serbo-Croatian harmony he desires within himself and for other Yugoslavs may, in the end, be attainable only as a vision — real or imagined.

Plavi orkestar*: 'Death to Fascism!'*

Not too long after *Bijelo dugme*'s advocacy of Slavic togetherness through the rendition of the national anthem on their 1984 LP release, another Sarajevo band — *Plavi orkestar* (*The Blue Orchestra*) — took up Yugoslavism as a means of the 'popular-cultural intervention' within the socio-cultural fabric of Yugoslav society. The band's Yugoslavist platform had its most immediate genesis in Saša Lošić's (lead singer and principal creative force in the band) experiences while in the army, doing his military service, where he was, as he puts it, under the 'exalting suffering' of a cathartic quality which was the spark for the songs written by him that appeared on the band's 1985 debut album. The other defining moment was the socio-political situation in the country and the tense climate of increased chauvinist nationalism(s) and ethnic enclosures which were perceived as a direct negation of the established socio-cultural tradition of the society known to Lošić and the people of his generation. Combined together, the two moments triggered an 'emotional-intellectual defense mechanism' with the Yugoslavist cultural platform as an appropriate (if not the only appropriate) response to the reality faced. As Lošić put it,

> we have turned to Yugoslavism because of all these vampiric situations … which are tearing down the cognitive frame of reference … to an entire generation not used to living with the burden of, for example, taking apart your most banal phrase[:] 'how are you, where are you, why are you'. We wanted a return to the times when you wouldn't be burdened with the possibility of finding out hidden allusions in your each and every word. (in Palameta 1985d: 13)

At stake in *Plavi orkestar* taking up Yugoslavism was a struggle for 'mental sanity' of an entire generation of Yugoslavs whose socio-cultural and political views where of qualitatively different disposition from the one they were faced with, and who — at least from Lošić's viewpoint — needed some sort of an 'intellectual defense mechanism' against an assault mustered by the 'alien' forces of ethno-nationalist bent. To resist it, the only viable strategy was to counter-attack it with a 'return to tradition' and a forceful advocacy of a Yugoslav orientation as the only possible and viable social, political, and cultural option for the society in crisis.

Why Yugoslavism rather than something else? Simply because that was — I dare say — the emotional-intellectual and socio-cultural core of Lošić and the generation he belonged to and stood for. Born in the mid-1960's and growing up in the late-1970's they where the cohort raised on the Yugoslav values and with an engrained Yugoslav perspective, the foundation of which was the Partisan tradition with all of its normative dictums, embodied in the heroic anti-fascist struggle of World War II. Therefore, it would only be normal that for Lošić there would be an immanent equation between Yugoslavism and 'Partisanism' and that any sort of Yugoslav emotional-intellectual platform and a call for a return to tradition would by default be couched in what was understood as Partisan normative sensibilities and an appeal for the remembrance of the anti-fascist tradition. Thus in the wake of the release of *Plavi orkestar*'s first record *Soldatski bal* (*Soldiers' Ball*) Lošić observes that, "it is our wish that the true values, which started fading because of some idiotic happenings, resurface at the forefront. We wish, for example, to re-instill in youth a minimal respect for the legacy of anti-fascist struggle" (in Ivačković 1985: 32). The 'idiotic happenings' here is what Lošić elsewhere refers to as the 'spitting at the sacred symbols' — i.e., essentially anything of non-Yugoslav (and anti-Yugoslav) orientation. As he puts it: "When you see all that madness, all that spitting at the sacred symbols, you realize that you ought to have a minimum respect towards the latter[, for] if we forget them I am not sure who will remember them" (in Palameta 1985d: 13).

Thus for Lošić and *Plavi orkestar* the Yugoslavist orientation in music was far from an unconscious reflex to what they lived through but was a consciously chosen and carefully planned 'cultural platform' through which they communicated with their audience and anyone interested in what they had to say. Although, as he put it, "people are not focused on our general ideas and messages, abhorring the conceptual in our thing, and are accepting the spontaneous and the obscure" (in Vukmir and Wruss 1985: 22), the conceptual and non-spontaneous were, in fact, at the bedrock of it all. To get around the problem of the conceptual in their presentation and to naturalize the non-spontaneous Lošić and *Plavi orkestar* developed a particular form of aesthetics which effectively merged the two 'living' traditions (that of folk and revolutionary music) and borrowed heavily from both in terms of a presentational style. Tapping into the traditional forms was of strategic importance for two principal reasons: giving the band's call for a return to traditional values a matching stylistic aura and thus making it 'authentic'; and 'de-intellectualizing' the platform offered and having it appear as coming from the people, spontaneously. The latter in particular was fairly strategic for making sure that *Plavi orkestar*'s platform was devoid of elitist and, thus, pretentious tendencies, and was given non-alienating populist and, thus, as broad of an appeal as possible.

Crucial in *Plavi orkestar*'s conceptualization of the Yugoslavist platform as a form of 'cultural interventionism' was Lošić's collaboration with Malcolm Muharem —

the band's manager and the *de facto* 'intellectual co-conspirator' behind the idea. Labeling the approach as a 'Bosnian artistic experiment' Muharem very lucidly pointed to the premeditated in *Plavi orkestar*'s preoccupations with Yugoslavism, and the artistic strategy of an 'idealization of tradition' as its definit(iv)e basis. As he puts it:

> Our position is that only that which is based on traditions can exist. [O]ur attitude is that given the historical moment our milieu and our society are at, a return to [revolutionary] traditions and their reexamination are the necessary means of gaining ground under our feet.
> […]
> Idealization of tradition is romanticism of a sort which, in a situation when everything is in crisis and when people are struggling to survive, becomes a necessity. … [R]ecalling tradition … is not an industry of oblivion; it is rather, I would say, an industry of remembrance. Remembrance is offered as the power to work things out within ourselves (Muharem in Vukmir and Wruss 1985: 23)

Thus, in the context of the strategy employed, a recollection of the past is not a hermetic self-contained process but rather a strategic means of reflecting upon the present. Its ultimate value is the elucidation of the past's absence in the present and, in a sense, the confrontation with the present which denies the past the dignity of existence. As a form of cultural interventionism, therefore, *Plavi orkestar*'s 'new partisanism' is, in Muharem's final assessment, "not a glorification of the things passed but an identification with the resistance" (Bašić and Maleš 1987: 23).

On a larger plane, *Plavi orkestar*'s 'new partisanism' figures as an insertion of the crucial (and crucially missing) cultural bloodline into the 'socio-cultural tissue' of the Yugoslav society in crisis. According to Lošić, "the cultural platform of Yugoslavia is definitely dead and the culture today consists of life alone" (Bašić and Maleš 1987: 23). What he means is that the present moment does not have a particular 'aesthetic' as the foundation for 'real life' (which is the reason for disenchantment and the nationalistic re-enchantment) and that the task of *Plavi Orkestar* is to reintroduce one as a necessary foundation for resisting the disenchanted present. To that end, the band's *New Partisans* 'total(izing) aesthetic' (i.e. one that includes musical, visual and overall presentational style) is an attempt to 're-enchant the world' and stir it away from the present. Its totalizing effect is manifested in its all-encompassing aspect (i.e. the fact that it deals with all, or as many as possible, dimensions of the contemporary Yugoslav society), and in its all-encompassing reach. The latter implies that the 'aesthetic' is fundamentally populist in its orientation, aiming for the broadest possible appeal, and that it uses the 'populist means' to reach its audience and to 'envelop everyone' — therefore, the 'traditional revolutionary music'[151], the 'traditional revolutionary look', the 'traditional revolutionary aesthetic' and the 'traditional revolutionary message'[152]. On the other hand, the totalizing effect also suggests that *Plavi orkestar*'s *New Partisans* engagement has a pedagogical function that ultimately aims at educating and 'enlightening' everybody, or at least everybody within their audience. Understood this way, the band's new partisanism posits itself as a new 'cultural project' (or 'platform') of fundamentally populist scope that is at the same time, because of its 'pedagogical moment', 'elitist' and, because of its non-elitist reach, populist. Or as Muharem puts it: "*Orkestar* is aesthetical totalization because it audaciously takes the iconography of the bottom and the methods of the elité [and creates] the totalizing aesthetic which encompasses everything and attempts to not permit anyone to step out of any of its segments" (in Bašić and Maleš 1987: 22).

At its broadest, Muharem argues that *Plavi orkestar*'s platform is a revolt against the elitist concept of culture fundamental to Yugoslav society, i.e. the kind of cultural dynamic grounded in a dichotomy of the 'enlightening mechanism' of the elite culture (or, as Bregović calls it, 'rape by a piano') and the '(un)culture of the masses'. As he has it, "we are arguing for an all-encompassing concept of culture which will enable representation of the creativity of the last peasant" (Muharem in Bašić and Maleš 1987: 23), and for the form of cultural experience that will not prioritize and valorize one particular or indeed any cultural expression over others. Thus understood, *Plavi orkestar*'s new partisanism is a cultural parallel and complement to Bregović's notion of 'Yugoslav idea of somewhat different a type' and its premise of all-inclusive ideological pluralism as the political foundation of

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[151] To that end, Muharem states, that "we insist on using unpopular forms, and a form of revolutionary music is completely thrown into obscurity" (in Bašić and Maleš 1987: 23)

[152] As Lošić puts it (in Miletić 1986a), "I simply cannot stand primitive forms any more. It is not an escape from rock or folk-rock, but to me rock somehow appears to be an untouching music — sterile so even homemakers listen to it. However, some sort of folk has remained as some kind of an inheritance, some sort of a spirit...".

Yugoslav society. Fundamentally, the two are oriented towards the same kinds of normative demands and ethic(s) and aesthetics of living inherent therein.

Plavi orkestar's Yugoslavist platform was inaugurated on the band's first record, *Soldatski bal* ("Soldiers' Ball"). The intent behind the record was expressed through its cover artwork — a reworking of The Beatles' famous *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* cover — which offers the band's cultural perception of Yugoslavia by bringing together the forty-nine most important cultural icons, selected not on the basis of 'objective criteria or relative importance' but by the 'way of nostalgia'. As Lošić states, "we have used the way of nostalgia[,] and I take these [people] as myths from my childhood channel, from a bird's eye view, and not because of they are imposed by some historical context" (in Janjatović 1985c: 20). In addition to the band's Yugoslav heroes, the cover is graced by the Yugoslav flag and the red star, thus providing an unequivocal visual referent to *Plavi orkestar* socio-cultural inspirational and ideological point of departure. On the musical plane, *Soldatski bal* projects the band's Yugoslavist socio-cultural platform by broadening the rock idiom with traditional folk elements and, in doing so, merging the two — from the point of view of official culture — culturally incompatible musical forms. The strategy behind the symbiosis was two-fold: acknowledging the *de facto* existing cultural reality of Yugoslav society — namely, that folk-music is the *default* music of Yugoslav (popular-)cultural sphere and thus the most populist cultural expression that there is; shaking up the elitist concept of culture by testing the boundaries of its tolerance through an irritation (such as recording a duet with Nada Obrić, one of the most popular folk signers at the time). Regarding the first aspect, Lošić reflects on the matter in this way:

> as a form of culture, rock here has yet to position itself as such … . Rock-culture in Sarajevo shares spot number ten with the parking and health services[,] and has no impact except for being concentrated in two, three bars. Its enough to take a walk on the streets of Sarajevo's periphery and everything is perfectly clear. (in Janjatović 1985c: 20)

The point Lošić is trying to make here is that what is considered peripheral culture — or culture of the periphery — is in effect *the* culture as far as the real-existing cultural realities go; to fancy otherwise is to be deluded. If this is so, then shunning it as non-culture is not only a form of cultural hubris of the most ignorant degree but also a fundamental denial of Yugoslav cultural essence. In this context, the band's 'flirting' with folk-music should not only *not* be considered as problematic but it should be taken as the most natural expression of true cultural Yugoslavism. The fact that it is not speaks volumes about the state of the country's elité's cultural mind. At the immediate musical plane, the song "Stambol, Pešta, Bečlija" is the band's most direct expression of its Yugoslav orientation and an acknowledgement, through invocation of its foundational axiom of 'brotherhood and equality', of the socialist cultural normativity as the *de facto* principle of the all-encompassing cultural experience. Crafted as a series of heartfelt expressions of genuine friendships among 'comrades' from different parts of Yugoslavia, and peppered with easily recognizable local cultural references, the song accentuates the idea that, as the chorus has it, 'here all people are same; here all people are good'. The same idea is also behind the three guest singers in the song who, through their different regional accents united in harmony, "help carry the same emotion throughout different parts of Yugoslavia" (Lošić in Milosavljević 1985: 43). As Lošić puts it (in Janjatović 1985c: 20), "Stambol, Pešta, Bečlija" is 'brotherhood and equality' incarnate — a mini-Band Aid.

The follow-up to *Soldatski bal*, *Smrt Fašizmu!* ("Death to Fascism!"), furthers *Plavi orkestar*'s Yugoslavist platform by offering the totalizing aesthetic of new partisanism. Overall, the record is motivated by a desire and need to shift an understanding of rock'n'roll and its position in society from the terrain of the oppositional to the plane of the affirmative. As Lošić puts it:

> I believe it is time that we leave behind the understanding of rock 'n' roll and its iconography as the force of destruction and come to appreciate its spirit as the force of construction and as one the pillars for building socialist revolution and socialist self-management. (Lošić in unsigned 1986b: 2)

Thus, the ultimate aim in this respect is to reinsert rock'n'roll into the society as a new constructive cultural alternative whose *raison d'être* is to aid the society in crisis and offer viable solution(s) to the acute socio-cultural cancer. In Lošić's view, the crucial problem of Yugoslav society is the absence of a cultural platform generative of a specific 'aesthetics of living' and a corresponding social spirit that would affirm rather than deny the Yugoslav cultural framework and experience. In this context, he sees rock-music as an important socio-cultural vehicle with the potential of intervening within the society and promoting the 'Yugoslav referent' as *the* marker of an affirmative 'aesthetics of living' and a constructive form of culture. Hence, *Smrt Fašizmu!* and its totalizing aesthetic of new partisanism.

The premise of *Plavi orkestar*'s record *Smrt Fašizmu!* was the use of the partisan war film genre, a specific cultural expression of a concrete period in the history of Yugoslav society, as a generalized scenario for re-examining a particular 'aesthetic of living' (in Bašić and Maleš 1987: 22). Central to it was not the genre's subject of revolution but the fact that the revolutionary ethos nursed in these films had, in retrospect, a strategic socio-cultural (and perhaps even pedagogical) function of fostering a specific 'Yugoslav spirit' as the foundational element for the worldview of the generation that grew up on them. In other words, the partisan war movies were important not because they were about the war but because they were grounded in particular moral and ethical themes that very much shaped the 'aesthetic of living' of Yugoslav citizenry at a specific point in time.[153] In this sense, it was the films' specific kind of 'aesthetic *Weltanschauung*' in the form of a 'generalized scenario' that was, in Lošić's view, fundamental for the 'aesthetic of living' in real life and thus generative of a constructive Yugoslav spirit and the corresponding (popular-)cultural platform. Thus what *Smrt Fašizmu!* as a form of 'socio-cultural intervention' had as its ultimate objective is re-examination of the logic of a 'partisan aesthetic' as a symbolic vehicle for a specific 'aesthetic of living' and, re-introduction of the former as, in Lošić's view, desirable and even necessary 'symbolic referent' for facing and dealing with the carcinogens of the current socio-cultural moment. In taking up the subject of 'partisan aesthetics', therefore, the intent was not to accentuate the past by glorifying it but rather to 'aestheticize' it and offer it as a symbolic foundation for the resistance to the present moment of

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[153] Lošić, for example, talks about 'partisan love' as one of crucially important aesthetic themes of the partisan war films that had a crucial impact on setting normative standards for (what) genuine real-life expressions of love (ought to be). As he puts it: "Love [today] is coquetry of a sort. You know: I'll play it cool on the phone today so she'll start liking me, start chirping. During the war there was no time for bullshitting. ... 'I love you, comrade' had such an emotional force the hills around were crumbling" (Tomić and Đorem 1986b: 7).

'disenchantment of the Yugoslav world' (i.e. its de-Yugoslavization) and its 'nationalistic re-enchantment'. Hence, 'aestheticization of politics' as the foundation for *Smrt Fašizmu!*s 'reflexive extrospection' on the contemporary socio-cultural realities of the society and the basis for a new Yugoslav(ist) cultural platform.[154]

For Lošić, *Smrt Fašizmu!* is essentially an adaptation — without ironization — of a partisan war film into the music form (see Miletić 1986a: 34; Tomić and Đorem 1986b: 7). Thus its cover functions as the movie poster, visually encapsulating the record's normative essence: most of the space is devoted to a picture of an old woman (who, in the context of Partisan imagery, symbolizes the purity of struggle, the dedication to a cause, and — on a grander scale — the determination of the Yugoslav people to resist occupation) standing in front of a red communist flag, with the bottom of the cover depicting the fascist leaders Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini overseeing the mobilization of Nazi troops. The top of the cover has the band's name prominently displayed in the color shades matching those of the flag, and symbolically indicating identification with everything that the 'Partisan' portion of the cover represents; the bottom part of the cover has the slogan 'death to fascism!' covering most of the visualization of German Nazis and Italian Fascists, indicating a resolve to write them off. The title of the record is itself suggestive of the affirmation of the Partisan legacy, because 'death to fascism!' was the first part of the revolutionary greeting slogan during World War II: in full, the slogan proclaims 'death to fascism! — freedom to the people!'.

Musically, the record boasts Partisan folkloric imagery and revolutionary composition as the basis for expressing the moral and ethical themes of the partisan war films and, ultimately, creating an 'aural revolutionary aesthetic'. The opening track, "Fa, fa fašista nemoj biti ti (jerbo ću te ja draga ubiti)" ("Fa, Fa, Fascist Don't You Be (Because I Will Kill You, My Dear)") is perhaps the most explicit example thereof:

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[154] On this point, Rajin observes:

> What's unique and very interesting about *Plavi orkestar*'s approach is the fact that they do not draw an inspiration in the causal sphere of 'camp', that is, in the sphere of culture, but rather in its effectual sphere, i.e. our contemporary socio-political moment and its oppressions — the national question and the re-examination of traditional values. … What makes the matter even more confusing is the unnoticed fact that *Plavi orkestar* uses the same approach on their first record, although in somewhat less pronounced a measure.

Sjećaš li se draga kraljevića Petra ostavio zemlju na nogama od vjetra tada si ti draga ostavila mene da mi glava trne i srca da mi vene	Do you remember, my dear, the king Peter who left the country in such a hurry[155] it's then that you left me, my dear with my head hurting and my heart full of pain
Plakala ti majka, plakao ti babo zaveo te draga zlatokosi švabo otišla si njemu, ne treba mi druga u vihoru rata ostala mi tuga	Your mother is crying, your father is crying because you got seduced by a blond German you left with him, I don't need another In the whirlwind of war, all I'm left with was a sorrow
Hitlerovom sinu sada griješ pitu bacila si moju od zumbula kitu postala si dama crnog kupleraja a ja ću da hladim Trumanova jaja	Now you are warming up a pie for Hitler's son while throwing away my bouquet of hyacinth you became a lady of dark brothels And I'll be cooling off Truman's eggs
Ako primiš draga ovo moje pismo žao mi je mila, voljeli se nismo pogledaj u nebo, jedna zvijezda pada to se ljeto sprema, a mene više nema	If you ever receive this letter, my dear I'm sorry to say, but we never loved each other look at the sky, a star falling summer is coming, and I'm gone
Fa, fe, fašista nemoj biti ti jerbo ću te ja draga ubiti.	Fa, fa, fascist don't you be because I will kill you, my dear

The song opens with the sound of aircrafts flying over, and dogs barking, sound-images which represent occupation of Yugoslavia and the beginning of war. For the main character, this is also a personal tragedy because of his sweetheart going astray and falling in love with a German soldier. This 'aberration' immediately turns her into a fascist and, therefore, an enemy. The rest of the song uses an unequivocal language to accentuate the dichotomy between 'good' and 'evil' (i.e., fascists and anti-fascists) and cast the whole situation in a highly moralistic tone. In this context, the 'moral of the story' is quite clear: if you decide to align with the fascist you do not deserve any love, and — by default — your right to live is suspended. In terms of its composition, the song relies heavily on Partisan folklore in terms of its relatively simple tune and the way the lyrics are sung: every line is repeated, with the repetition backed up by additional voices. The two are the 'staples' of a traditional singing style as a song-learning method whereby the initial singing is used as a way of introducing lyrics and melody to the peers, and the repetition functions as a way of them joining in and learning the song bit by bit.[156] This was also the principal way of Partisans singing and transmitting their revolutionary messages during the war. Ultimately, by adopting the traditional-revolutionary compositional aesthetic *Plavi orkestar* is not only artistically authenticating an expression of the partisan ethos but also declaring its artistic commitment to the revolutionary values that ethos enunciates.

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[155] A reference to Yugoslavia's pre-World War II monarch who, at the first sign of Hitler's attack on the county, left for abroad.

[156] The same method is used by, say, the US-army recruits.

At the level of general socio-cultural intervention, *Smrt Fašizmu!* is grounded in Lošić's concern with the broadening of Yugoslav cultural platform through 'syncretic amalgamation' of the country's heterogeneous socio-cultural elements. As such, its focal point of concern is the realm of the cultural-ideological. In a way, Lošić's *Smrt Fašizmu!* wades the same waters as Bregović's *Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo* in that both are concerned with the loosening of the country's ideological rigidness — the latter within the sphere of socialist politics, the former within the general framework of socialist culture. They are also on the same page with respects to the belief that, since the political and cultural foundations of Yugoslav society are multi-national and multi-ethnic in their very essence, its political and cultural ideology ought to be broad enough to address and reflect these in the most meaningful fashion. Thus, in the same way that Bregović ultimately does not see a contradiction or tension between his idea(l) of the politically multi-perspectival Yugoslavia and the country's socialist political-ideological basis, Lošić is also convinced of the complementarity between the country's socialist cultural-ideological essence and (the possibility of) the culturally multi-perspectival Yugoslav society. Therefore, just as Bregović considers syncretic political pluralism as the only viable political option for the Yugoslav state, Lošić sees 'syncretically amalgamated' cultural pluralism as the only real cultural bedrock for Yugoslav society. The latter is perhaps best illustrated in *Smrt fašizmu!*s juxtaposition of partisanism and religion as, in the conventional cultural-ideological formulation, two diametrically opposed and (almost) mutually exclusive worldviews, but, in Lošić's (re)interpretation, 'differently complementary' forms of Yugoslav socio-cultural experience. Or, as he puts it,

> syncretism therefore in the form of everything being part of Yugoslavia — religion together with our glorious tradition. … Represented are both offensive and defensive religion, from all places, but in a mild form[.] In other words, without partisanship. … We are creating a reconciliatory state — Yugoslavia with all of its differences. (in Miletić 1986a: 34).

Lošić's idea(l) of 'Yugoslavia with all of its differences' is most directly addressed in the song "To je šok" ("That's a shock") which centers on the bewilderment within an 'earthly-secular being' at having a religious experience. Indirectly (but conspicuously), the 'complementarity of differences' is suggestive in the way most — if not all — songs on the record have their rhythmic/expressive foundation(s) in the folkloric music idioms of Yugoslavia's diverse ethnic communities. In this, the ultimate objective of *Smrt fašizmu!*'s 'socio-cultural interventionism' is to make explicit that the legacy of the partisan revolutionary tradition (i.e. the socio-cultural principle of 'brotherhood and unity') is, if applied in its true spirit, not merely conducive to the 'syncretic amalgamation' of Yugoslavia's socio-cultural diversity — it is its finest and most valuable expression.

Merlin*: 'Entire Yugoslavia One Courtyard'*

If Bregović and Lošić used the *New Partisans* platform to interrogate and ameliorate Yugoslavia's ideological foundations (the realms of the political and the cultural), Dino Dervišhalilović, the leader of Sarajevo's *Merlin*, employed it as a means of reflecting on the state of the country's ethical and moral fabric. For Dervišhalilović the crux of the crisis of Yugoslav society has to do with the all-pervasive attitudes of cultural nihilism and cultural snobbery which are, in his view, tearing apart the cultural fabric of the country and threatening its moral and ethical collapse. Correspondingly, Dervišhalilović's artistic engagement has as its ultimate objective the restoration of true moral and ethical values on which Yugoslav society was originally founded through an appeal to a particular form of 'moral-ethical partisanism'.

In many respects, Dervišhalilović considers the problem from the viewpoint of an ordinary working-class person and tries to address it through a non-intellectualizing 'gut-feeling reflex'. He observes the world from the vintage point of a 'commoner' and reflects on what he perceives straightforwardly and without unnecessary rhetorical flourishes. For him, the matter is self-obviously clear: the cancer of Yugoslav society is the superficiality and disingenuousness of its current form of culture, manifested in the all-pervasive nihilist attitude and in the supremacy of materialist superficiality. What Yugoslavia needs more than anything else, in Dervišhalilović's view, is a return to the true values of 'substantive genuineness' and moral commitment to 'trans-material goals'. For him, the latter are encapsulated in the revolutionary ethics of World War II partisanism, whose essence is centered on the 'purity of idea', 'honesty of thought', and 'unwavering commitment to a cause'. In the end, these are the ultimate moral and ethical virtues sorely needed as a cure for the pathology within the Yugoslav cultural fabric.

The partisanism of *Merlin*'s record *Teško meni sa tobom, a još teže bez tebe* (*It is Difficult with You, but Even More So without You*), therefore, is an attempt at invoking the 'authentic revolutionary Yugoslavism' as the original and supreme expression the country's moral and ethical foundations, and, in this, appealing for a 'return to the real'. Its essence is encapsulated in the record's title and, even more directly, the album's cover which juxtaposes the pictures of Marilyn Monroe and the young partisan lady Marija Bursać as symbolic representations of the two diametrical sets of ethics and morality — the decadent Western and the true Partisan. Dervišhalilović is unequivocally on the side of the latter and the direct association of the image of Marilyn Monroe with the phrase 'it is difficult with you', and the image of Marija Bursać with the phrase '... but even more so without you' is a clear insight into his engagement with the problem. As he explains it:

> It is true that some comrades, unknown to me, do not like the record's cover, which has on the one side a picture of Marilyn Monroe and the text — "it is difficult with you", and on the other a picture of a partisan Marija Bursać and the second part of the verse — "and even more so without you". They told me that a comrade and a lady cannot stand shoulder to shoulder on the record cover in any kind of context. I believe this is a case of shallow-mindedness and inability to understand the simple message of the verse. I wanted to stress the subtlety of the concept of war and post-war morality, character and youth's spiritedness, and to express the sadness that we seem to be having less and less of it. Do you talk to young people? All that's in their heads is money, cars and popularity, with most of them not having any or even being able to have it ever — therefore boredom, sadness, alcoholism, depression; thus the "I don't care" attitude. It's been a long time since I heard someone being praised by the words: "That's a really good person". Rather, the praises today are: "That one has really a lot of money". That is why I find it "even more difficult without Marija". I don't want to be guilty if in 2000 Marija

> says: "I'll throw myself on the tank for 50,000", and so she gets paid out by the order of the platoon's commander! My God, what sorrow… (in Tvrtković 1986a: 14)

For Dervišhalilović, the country's cultural aberration is painfully evident in the attitude of snobbery and the glorification of superficiality within everyday social encounters and interactions. He sees these as highly degenerative cultural phenomena because they not only prioritize the false cultural values but also because, more fundamentally, they generate socio-cultural rifts between people and foster dehumanizing cultural hierarchies antithetical to a genuine(ly) socialist-humanist society. As he puts it:

> I wish we could go back and live the way we used to — to the times when we used to gather in front of our buildings and played music. Today in Sarajevo, to get into top five bars you need a pass. If you are a journalist, or a good-looking chick, or a rocker — no problem, you can get a pass. But if you are a factory worker, no pass for you. And this is where I see us lacking that revolutionary morality. And that's why we find it even more difficult without all those known and unknown partisan lady-comrades.
>
> … Therefore I invite all rockers to organize a national tour this coming winter under the banner 'entire Yugoslavia one courtyard'…. It would be very beneficial if we could get it into our heads that we are all on the same side of the barricades, that we are all eating the same bread. (Dervišhalilović in Misirilić 1986a: 3)

Given the gravity of the situation, Dervišhalilović is rather adamant about the need to resist the moral and ethical down-spiraling and actively promote the 'revolutionization of our moral-ethical selves' by looking up to the partisan past. Failing to do so will invite the spreading of 'primitive cultural experiences' and their destructive tendencies of 'separate and divide'.

The essence of Dervišhalilović's perception and experience of Yugoslavia's moral *malaise* is projected through the song "Cijela Juga jedna avlija" ("Entire Yugoslavia One Courtyard") in which he both diagnoses the nature of the problem and offers the course for its solution:

Šizi Beograd, šizi Novi Sad	Belgrade is dancing, Novi Sad is dancing
Tuzla, Sombor, Zagreb, Titograd	Tuzla, Sombor, Zagreb, Titograd
cijela Juga jedna avlija	entire Yugoslavia one courtyard
Vesela estrada, zvjezdica parada	Merry estrada, a parade of stars
kakve genijade i curice mlade	full of ingenious entertainment and young girls
alaj mi je, šta mi je	I'm not sure what's with me tonight
kako mi je noćas nervoza	I'm so nervous
Kukurijeku zeleni, hajde malo meni	Hey young flower, come to me
taj ti sve laže a i plavci ga traže	the one next to you is telling you lies, and the cops are after him
tvoj sam zemljak, radnik, seljak	I'm your real man, a worker, a countryman
hajde sa mnom ne pati	come with me – don't be sad
Srbi, bosanci, crnci i albanci	Serbs, Bosnians, Blacks, and Albanians
nikad u mom gradu nisu bili stranci	were never strangers in my city
pa šta se to sa tobom desava	so, c'mon, what's up with you
Šizi Beograd, šizi Novi Sad	Belgrade is dancing, Novi Sad is dancing
Tuzla, Sombor, Zagreb, Titograd	Tuzla, Sombor, Zagreb, Titograd
cijela Juga jedna avlija	entire Yugoslavia one courtyard
Hoćeš, nećeš, ne moraš	You come, or you don't
Hoćeš, nećeš, ne, svejedno mi je	either way, it's all same to me

The principal conflict in the song is between the liar with the cops on his back (symbolizing a decadent Western local) and the real, authentic, working-class Yugoslav. The former is not only trouble to be avoided but also bad news not to be trusted; the Yugoslav, on the other hand, is an incarnation of genuine goodness and — although not as superficially slick as the former — fundamentally of the right 'moral and ethical compass'. This idea is incarnated in the all-embracing attitude that 'entire Yugoslavia is one courtyard', and the attitude that 'Serbs, Bosnians, Blacks, and Albanians were never strangers in my city'. The affirmation of the Yugoslav's 'partisan traditionalism' is accentuated musically by the weaving of folkloric and rock'n'roll idioms in the form of blending of the female vocals characteristic of a traditional Bosnian village-style singing and the song's rock 'n' roll bedrock. On a broader plane, the fusion is also suggestive of Dervišhalilović's central contention regarding the essential compatibility between the essence of the old and the demands of the new, and of his position that the wellbeing of Yugoslavia's moral-ethical fiber depends crucially on the reanimation of moral-ethical values of the country's Partisan-revolutionary past. Hence, Dervišhalilović's new partisanism as, ultimately, a means of Yugoslavia's moral-ethical — and thus spiritual — rearmament.

New Partisans: *A Résumé*

The *New Partisans* was the last socio-cultural music movement of SFR Yugoslavia and, in all crucial respects, the end of 'music of commitment'. Its poetics of the patriotic and the spirit of the reconstruction that defined the movement's socio-political *praxis* were the final, but perhaps most radical, expressions of the 'music revolution in thought and practice' that began a decade earlier with rock'n'roll's substantive turn and the first music movement of the *New Wave*. With the *New Partisans*, the notion of substantive engagement as the foundation of rock-music's (pre)condition for meaningful existence in society would shift from the terrain of subculture to counterculture and be reformulated as the radical negation of the given and a fundamental opposition to the nationalist(ic) antithesis of Yugoslav societal essence. The primary reason for this was in the fact that, differently from the *New Wave* and the *New Primitives* which formulated their respective poetics *within* the contours of the existing and, ultimately, engaged with what they thought to be its aberrant and/or problematic aspects and manifestations, the *New Partisans* forged its philosophy and practice *against* the contours of the existing and in the face of what were perceived as fundamentally destructive socio-political, socio-cultural and moral-ethical developments. Therefore, while the attitude underlying the *praxis* of *New Wave* and *New Primitives* was one of, fundamentally, 'amicable quarrel' with the given, the stance informing *New Partisans*' socio-political engagement was one of, fundamentally, head-on confrontation. Although all three movements shared a constructive disposition towards the Yugoslav socialist community, its affirmation in the case of *New Partisans* had to be expressed through the qualitatively different ways and means — a call for a revolution rather than an appeal for amelioration.

The radical and revolutionary nature of *New Partisans* was both a source of its strength and a cause of its hardship, which ultimately was manifested in the polarization of Yugoslavia's cultural-political authorities (and public) on the issue of the movement's character, methods and ultimate intent. On the one side, there were those who recognized in *New Partisans* and its poetics of the patriotic a genuine and sorely needed impulse to revitalize the crumbling foundations of Yugoslav socialist community, and who understood its methods of revolutionary folk-rock aesthetics as a constructive and strategic means to a (much) great(er) socio-political end. Perišin's commentary is rather illustrative in this regard:

> To place a revolution and its traditions in the midst of not so rosy a reality and draw from its steady well the ideas and solutions means first and foremost to work on their updating and modernization. … In this significant socio-economic and political moment when our country is facing great difficulties there is, perhaps more than ever, a need to emphasize those, primarily ethical, principles and virtues characteristic of our revolutionaries before, during, and after the war that we seem to forget all too easily. (Perišin 1987: 6)

On the other side, there were those who (mis)read *New Partisans*' musico-aesthetic pastiche of Yugoslavia's folkloric/revolutionary idioms and the movement's unabashed Yugo-(senti)mentality as nothing but a profanization of the sacred values and traditions of the glorious achievements of Partisan socialist struggle, and who therefore dismissed the whole project as nothing more than an attempt to reduce the revolution and its legacy to the banalities and trivialities of immature and fundamentally irresponsible popular-cultural embezzlement. In their eyes, the *New Partisans* and its politicization of rock-music was a return to a highly problematic 'estradization' of a revolutionary tradition rooted in the 1970's trend of transforming the essence of Yugoslav socialist culture into exploitative profit-driven mass-cultural clichés. The crux, and foundation, of this position is perhaps best captured in Ivanjek's 1977 commentary on the 'original partisanism', where he writes the following:

> If in the eyes of the young generation the Partisans are turning into Mirko and Slavko couriers[157], then it is better to be without them or to simply accept them as the typical heroes of popular art without a referent to this or that revolution and with no particular normative basis that justifies their existence. (Ivanjek 1977: 19)

Implicitly or explicitly, Ivanjek's stance was a cognitive referent for much of the critique charged against *New Partisans* and the movement's perceived bastardization of all that was lofty and exalting. The polarization and debate that followed in certain respects helped the *New Partisans* agenda for it brought to a wider public attention the matter ordinarily relegated to the sphere of popular culture and its concerns, and made it — for a while, at least — enter into the general-Yugoslav *conscience collectif.* The polemic tone that grounded much of the 'for-or-against' forensics on *New Partisans'* poetics of the patriotic, however, also took away from the movement's potency because it placed its principal advocates in a situation where their idea(l)s and the artistic-aesthetic strategies they employed to (attempt to) realize them were put quite often under 'critical scrutiny' and therefore in need of repeated justification and defense. The latter, ultimately, stifled the *New Partisans'* revolutionary spirit for it hindered the intended strategy of 'permanent cultural offense', forcing it into periodic thrusts of artistic-aesthetic retrenchment. This, in addition to the fact that in the hands of less competent and — why not say it — less scrupulous pop-music "agitators" the ideas of *New Partisans* were to a significant degree voided of their philosophical-normative suppositions and reduced to substance-deprived forms of mass-cultural candies, made the movement gradually lose its socio-political steam and, as the 1980's were drawing to a close, dissipate into the unconscious of Yugoslav (popular-)cultural memory. Shortly thereafter, the idea(l) of Yugoslav socialist community followed suit.

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[157] The characters of a highly popular Partisan comic strip.

And then, on June 26 of 1991, SFR Yugoslavia was no more.

CHAPTER 8

Who's That Singing Over There?: A Sociological Epilogue

The historiographic journey of *Who's That Singing over There?* ends here. Its principal aim was to reconstruct historical trajectories important for understanding the significance of rock-music as a form of social critique in Yugoslav socialist community, and to explain the nature of this critique in the form of a music of commitment. As revealed through the narrative, the historical moment that grounds both of these was the substantive conceptual-ideological turn of Yugoslav rock'n'roll — i.e. the development of a new 'musical ethos' (Frith 1996b: 29) which radically altered the priorities of rock-music and shifted its essence from a situation where rock'n'roll spoke with its style (i.e., with a repertoire of performative gestures and codes chosen with great care and consideration) to a position where it spoke with its substance (i.e. with the meanings of verbal message communicated through the lyrics of the rock-song). The three music movements that emerged out of the substantive turn — *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* — used this new understanding of rock-music as an artistic springboard for articulating their own poetic expressions and offering the forms of socio-cultural critique that engaged with the realities and problems of life in Yugoslav society. Thus, their music of commitment was a form of cultural *praxis* whose purpose was to use rock'n'roll as 'communicative arena' (Mattern 2006) for channeling youth's demand for participatory inclusion in society's public life, and whose strategic objective was to aid the realization of the country's self-proclaimed ideal of a genuine socialist-humanist community 'in the true measure of man'.

The task of the final section is to recast the historiographic journey taken in more explicitly sociological terms and, thus, unpack sociological issues out of the narrative about Yugoslav rock-music and its relationship to Yugoslav society. This will be done by (1) focusing on the cultural dimension of the study through the prism of Raymond Williams' distinction between dominant, residual and emergent culture (Williams 1977), and (2) reflecting on the post-Yugoslav legacy of the music of commitment. The purpose of this sociological reconstruction is thus two-fold: to explain the particular cultural conditions that enabled the rise of music movements of *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* as consequential emergent cultural forms; and to address the historical transformation of the music of commitment from a progressive socio-cultural *praxis* to a progressive socio-cultural *memory*.

Before we begin, a word of caution about the limits of sociological translation to be undertaken is in order. The fact of the matter is that sociology's theoretical and conceptual portfolio is built on the investigation of Western — and capitalist — society and on the assumptions about how that particular society (mal)functions and evolves over time. Thus sociology is at its strongest when it deals with what it is 'meant to be dealing with', and at its most fragile, theoretically and conceptually, when it has to deal with non-Western — and non-capitalist — societal realities and experiences. Outhwaite and Ray's comment is instructive in this regard:

> Sociological theory … has been largely grounded in the experiences of modernity in North America and Western Europe and its frames of analysis have tended to reflect this. It has, moreover, tended to assume that the West represents the normal developmental model, prefigurating the future of other societies. While social differentiation has been an important theme in recent sociological theory, this has tended to refer to differentiation of function (polity, economy, civil society, family, etc.) which is compatible with the view that the

> structural and cultural patterns of modern societies are becoming homogenous. (Outhwaite and Ray 2005: 19-20)

Does this then mean that sociology has nothing to offer towards understanding the non-Western, and non-capitalist, societies? Not at all. But it means that one needs to be very careful in transplanting sociology's theoretical and conceptual apparatus from its natural Western/capitalist societal milieu to the societal terrain that resists (obvious) framing in these terms. To transplant mechanically all that sociology has to offer onto a sociologically-foreign ground and use it under the assumption that it should fit non-problematically is a great disservice to sociology itself and to (honest attempts at) proper sociological investigation of that which needs to be understood. So the rule of thumb here should be: 'proceed with caution'. In light of this, the beginning of the sociological translation of the Yugoslav problematic investigated in *Who's That Singing over There?* has to be a recognition of the unique nature of Yugoslavia's brand of socialism that does not lend itself to easy compartmentalization within the general sociological understanding of the 'communist system' or generic comparison to other (former) socialist societies. In general terms, Yugoslavia (and especially during the period of interest to the project) was a socialist universe of its own, different from — but not altogether unlike — the East European 'socialist satellites' and similar to — but not altogether like — the Western European societies (for a concise overview of Yugoslav socialism, see Horvat 1989).[158] Because of this, perhaps the only way to unpack sociological issues successfully is to proceed on the basis of the selective and relaxed application of the relatively fitting concepts relevant to the intended objective.

The basis for the task at hand will be Raymond Williams's sociological categories of dominant, residual and emergent cultural elements, developed through his appreciation of Antonio Gramsci's treatment of culture. For Gramsci, the general understanding of culture has to be grounded in three foundational assumptions: (1) that culture never represents any kind of autonomous domain; (2) that culture is never merely an epiphenomenon, or simple reflection of more fundamental economic relations, but is an organic part of society's basic economic structure; and (3) that this organic relationship between culture and society ought to be understood in a particular historical context. Thus,

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[158] This was perhaps best reflected in the image of Yugoslavia as the 'Switzerland of Eastern Europe' among the neighboring socialist countries.

> culture is for Gramsci … a precipitate continually generated in the course of history. In other words, the ways of being and living in the world that we think as culture can be seen as particular forms assumed by the interaction of a multitude of historical processes at particular moment in time. (Crehan 2002: 72)

The main point regarding culture, in Gramsci's view, is to reject 'passive' understanding of it as "encyclopedic knowledge, and men as mere receptacles to be stuffed full of empirical data and a mass of unconnected raw facts, which have to be filled in the brain as in the columns of a dictionary, enabling their owner to respond to the various stimuli from the outside world" (Gramsci in Crehan 2002: 74). Rather, culture has to be taken as something inherently active, dynamic and acting on the world — something that ought to be understood in terms of (what can be identified as) its cognitive, material, and organizational 'moments'. The cognitive 'moment' posits culture as 'thought in action', where culture figures as a means by which people are able to understand their place within the reality they inhabit. For Gramsci, the most significant aspect of culture as 'thought in action' is critical self-knowledge, i.e. the form of understanding that not only enables people to understand their relations to others and their place in history, but also to change the world. In this sense, the cognitive 'moment' points to the notion of culture as a necessary cognitive precondition for engaging in, ideally, transformative form of social action. The material 'moment' of culture has to do with commonly shared forms of thinking and acting that arise out of the material circumstances of particular social groups in society. In this context, to think about culture is to understand it as different conceptions of the world, 'a complex tapestry of interwoven strands', formed out of the real-existing conditions of life. In Gramsci's view, the possibility of progressive social practice in light of culture's material 'moment' rests on the ability to go beyond an 'unthinking' — i.e. beyond mechanical adoption of the culture given to us by the social milieu into which we are born — and develop, critically and consciously, our own understanding of the world. As he writes,

> Is it better to 'think', without having a critical awareness, in disjointed and episodic way? In other words, is it better to take part in a conception of the world mechanically imposed by the external environment, i.e. by one of many social groups in which everyone is automatically involved from the moment of his entry into the conscious world …? Or, on the other hand, is it better to work out consciously and critically one's own conception of the world and thus, in connection with the labours of one's own brain, choose one's sphere of activity, take an active part in the creation of history of the world, be one's own guide, refusing to accept passively and supinely from outside the moulding of one's personality? (Gramsci in Crehan 2002: 81)

Finally, the organizational 'moment' of culture reflects Gramsci's position that progressive social action never arises spontaneously but always emerges through conscious organizational activity. Culture, from this viewpoint, is a 'progressive will' — an organizational result of intelligent reflection — whose strategic purpose is to propel people from the state of being 'primordially cultured' into the condition of being cultured 'organically'. For Gramsci then

> creating a new culture does not only mean one's own individual 'original' discoveries. It also, and most particularly, means the diffusion in a critical form of truths already discovered, their 'socialization' as it were, and even making them the basis of vital action, and element of co-ordination and intellectual and moral order. (Gramsci in Crehan 2002: 82)

Ultimately, what emerges out of Gramsci's treatment is the notion of culture as a dynamic interplay of critical self-knowledge, progressive social understanding of material circumstances, and collective transformative engagement. Culture is thus a form of thought, a type of collective circumstance, and a mode of social action — all at once. Its contours are constantly (re)shaped by the historically complex ways in which the totality of cultural process is, on the one hand, informed by the (inter)dynamics of each cultural 'moment' and, on the other hand, bound up with society and its material processes. Moreover (and more specifically), culture in society is never a singularity of thought, circumstance and action, but always a plurality of these tied to the existence of different social groups. In this context, the general cultural process of society is an 'assemblage' of distinct cultural practices continually engaged with one another and, each in their unique way, engaging society's dominant cultural expression of power.

Building on Gramsci's insights, Williams (1977) posits that to think about culture sociologically essentially means two things: understanding culture as a dynamic process, and understanding the internal dynamics of cultural process as the relations between three distinct but interrelated forms of cultural experience. The first aspect suggests that culture is constantly 'on the move' and that it therefore needs to be taken as the formation continuously in the (re)making; the second aspect casts the structure of cultural process as an interplay between the dominant, residual, and emergent cultural elements. For Williams, coming to terms with one of the aspects is possible only in light of the other; effectively, they are, to put it colloquially, 'two sides of the same coin'.

The dominant of the cultural process is the form of cultural experience that 'seizes the ruling definition of the social' (Williams 1977: 125), or, in other words, delimits the nature of social reality within society by defining the nature and scope of its official culture. Its primary function within the general cultural dynamic, thus, is to constantly make and remake the social in light of the dominant interests of those who command society. The residual of the cultural process refers to cultural experiences "effectively formed in the past, but ... still active in the cultural process ... as an effective element of the present" (Williams 1977: 122). These are the cultural understandings and practices whose origin is in the previously existing cultural institutions and formations, relegated by the dominant culture as out of step with society's current social and cultural demands. Finally, the emergent of the cultural process denotes "new meanings and values, new practices, new relationship and kinds of relationships ... continuously created [in society]" (Williams 1977: 123). The emergent culture, therefore, denotes the forms of cultural experiences previously non-existent in and unknown to society. According to Williams, when thinking about the general cultural process it is important to keep in mind, first, that the residual and emergent forms of culture arise as either alternatives or oppositions to the dominant culture, and, second, that the essence of residual and emergent cultural practices — be they alternative and/or oppositional — can be grasped only in relation to the nature of dominant culture itself. As he puts it, "since we are always considering relations within a cultural process, definition of the emergent, and of the residual, can be made only in relation to a full sense of the dominant" (Williams 1977: 123). Additionally, it needs to be remembered that, in order to maintain and reproduce the ruling definition of the social, dominant culture is constantly on guard against the potential cultural threats and constantly engaged in neutralizing them through various forms of incorporation: "to the degree that [new cultural practice] emerges, and especially to the degree that it is oppositional rather than alternative, the process of attempted incorporation significantly begins. ... Straight incorporation is most directly attempted against the visibly alternative and oppositional ... elements" (Williams 1977: 124). Everything considered, for Williams the sociological analysis and understanding of society's general cultural dynamic ought to be based on the following: (1) the essential makeup of dominant, residual and emergent cultural elements; (2) the nature of their interrelations within a cultural process; and (3) the impact they have on the continuous (re)making of culture within society.

The cultural process of Yugoslav society was grounded in the particular form of socialist ideology whose central idea was building the community 'in the true measure of man' — i.e. society of the fundamental liberty, equality and fraternity for all of its constitutive nations and nationalities. This ideological vision had significant impact not only on the working of the country's dominant culture but also on the cultural forms that emerged as a critical reaction to the cultural practices of national cultural apparatus. In terms of the dominant culture, its commitment to the socialist ideal resulted in the construction of the dominant cultural model of new socialist culture whose strategic purpose was to bolster up the particular form of *conscience collectif* of Yugoslav society as an 'imagined ideological community'. The rise of the non-dominant cultural forms, on the other hand, was by and large a reaction to the shortcomings of the dominant culture, and an attempt to provide the necessary cultural corrective that would aid the realization of Yugoslav socialist ideal. Thus both dominant and non-dominant cultural forms were fundamentally animated by the same ideological — or, better yet, utopian — imaginary, with each form working towards the latter's realization in a manner construed as most appropriate and/or effective.

The emergence of music of commitment can be best understood as the cultural reaction to the imperfections of new socialist culture. The cultural *praxis* of *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans* was posited as the social critique of the national cultural apparatus whose strategic purpose was to help eliminate the 'slippage', or "disconnect", between what the Yugoslav socialist community ostensibly strived for and how it actually was. The critique of the parameters and practices of the country's official culture was aimed at revealing this slippage and, implicitly, at illuminating potential ways for overcoming it. For each music movement the source of the disconnect was perceived in different terms — for *New Wave* it was the dominant culture's neglect of youth as the meaningful agency in society; for *New Primitives* it was the dominant culture's hypocrisy of privileging non-local cultural experiences as the national cultural foundation; and for *New Partisans* it was the dominant culture's 'nationalist turn'. However, all three movements had the same belief that the social critique of these sources of disconnect was the first necessary, if not necessarily sufficient, step for pushing things in the right direction and bringing them closer to the ideal.

Overall, the music of commitment stands as the emergent cultural form within Yugoslavia's general cultural process.[159] Its novelty was, first and foremost, the employment of rock-music as 'communicative arena', and the engagement with the dominant culture through an open and unabashed cultural quarrel. Secondly, it was the fact that the music of commitment was intentionally political in the sense suggested by Greil Marcus (in Fischlin 2003: 14): "to make true political music, you have to say what decent people don't want to hear". In being political, it challenged the habitual ways of thinking about society and culture, and put into question the conventional forms of understanding their parameters and practices. Through its overall cultural *praxis*, thus, the music of commitment produced the cultural narratives alternative — and constructively oppositional — to those of the dominant culture; their strategic end-purpose was to engage the latter in a constructive and critical self-reflection about its very own condition of existence and practice.

The central aspects of the music of commitment's cultural emergence were poetics of the present as the radically new way to articulate youth's practical consciousness and lived social experiences. Each music movement developed its own variant of the poetics — poetics of the real for *New Wave*, poetics of the local for *New Primitives*, poetics of the patriotic for *New Partisans* — but they all aimed at communicating youth's unique understanding of themselves, of the larger socio-cultural and socio-political universe they belonged to, and of their place and role within Yugoslav socialist community. The poetics of the present were what Williams calls the 'structures of feeling', that is, "a particular quality of social experience and relationship, historically different from other particular qualities, which gives the sense of a generation or a period" (Williams 1977: 131). Thus, their essence, and power, was in the unique structuring of thoughts and experiences still in the making, and in the communication of these through the music expression particular to each music movement.

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[159] While all three music movements can be thought of in terms of emergent culture, the full qualification for *New Partisans* would be residually-based emergent cultural form.

As the 'structures of feeling', each variant of the poetics of the present was informed by the three distinct elements: utopian imaginary, critical engagement, and political strategy. The first one points to the fact that the cultural *praxis* of all three music movements was, ultimately, animated by the ideal of socialist community 'in the true measure of man', and that all three movements thought of their practices as the socio-cultural means of working towards that ideal — or, as Habermas (1989: 49) would put it, of "opening up alternatives for action and margins of possibility that push beyond historical continuities". Thus an important aspect of their engagement was transcendence — that is, the belief in the possibility of overcoming, or going beyond, the present, so that the present, through revolutionizing itself, can finally become its real self. The transcendence of the present envisioned by *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans* was therefore not construed as an alternative, and qualitatively different, type of social order external to the framework of Yugoslav social community; rather, it was seen as the full unfolding of everything that the present-day society was capable of becoming. The beginning- and end-point of this transcendence was the trust that the promise of the real-existing can be realized through its elevation to the heights of the ideal immanent to it.

The critical engagement of the music movements was an organic outgrowth of the utopian imaginary that animated their practices. The critique of the real-existing was premised on the notion that the ideal to be realized was entrapped within the stifling choke of obstructing socio-cultural and socio-political realities of the day and that by addressing — and resolving — these constructively the ideal would be set free to materialize into reality. Thus each music movement used its own particular poetic expression to address what from their viewpoint, and in the context of the times they existed, appeared as the most pressing problems of Yugoslav socialist community: for *New Wave* it was youth's invisibility as a meaningful social agency in society; for *New Primitives* it was the narrowness of country's socio-cultural field regarding acceptable forms of local cultural experiences; and for *New Partisans* it was the dissipation of the foundational social and political values of the revolutionary past. The movements' hope was that taking these on through their 'transcendental music'[160] (Friskics-Warren 2005) would aid the development of critical consciousness within their audiences and society itself, and that their own cultural *praxis* would invigorate the broader progressive action for rectifying the problems of Yugoslav society.

Finally, the third element of political strategy is about the specific ways of engagement between the dominant and emergent culture, i.e. between Yugoslavia's national cultural apparatus and the music of commitment as embodied in *New Wave*, *New Primitives*, and *New Partisans*. Mattern's distinction between the three forms of political action — confrontational, deliberative, and pragmatic — provides a useful framework here (Mattern 2006). As he explains,

> *confrontational political action* is typically cast in the language and practices of resistance, opposition, and struggle. Its major characteristics include heightened militancy, perception of incompatible interests, perception of zero-sum power relations and of zero-sum outcomes, and perception of relatively clear distinction between the forces of right and wrong. … Within this framework, popular music represents the legitimate expression of members of the subdominant group who resist and oppose oppression by members of the dominant group. It is viewed as a mouthpiece of "the people" and, as such, a communicative arena where group identity and allegiances are defined and cemented, and one of the sites where resistance and opposition occurs. (Mattern 2006: 372-3; original emphasis)

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[160] Transcendental music is "music that regardless of stylistic signature or marketing niche, point beyond itself, urging listeners to look past the mundane and to see themselves and their striving in a new light" (Friskics-Warren 2005: 13). It is thus oriented towards envisioning possibilities and imagining alternatives to the everyday.

In contrast to confrontational political action,

> *deliberative political action* … occurs when members of a group use musical practices to debate their identity and commitments, or when members of different groups negotiate mutual relationships. Although members of a group typically stand on at least some common ground, they likely also retain multiple differences of identity, interest, and commitment that sometimes emerge as disagreements and conflicts. Unless these are simply squelched, members must engage in the communicative interactions needed to adjust for differences, to negotiate potential compromises, to accommodate each other, and to find or create common ground for action on shared interests. For some people, music provides a communicative arena in which this debate and discussion can occur. (Mattern 2006: 373-4; original emphasis)

Finally,

> *pragmatic political action* begins from the premise of shared political interests. [It] occurs when individuals and groups use music to promote awareness of shared interests and to organize collaborative efforts to address them. Pragmatic political action may involve efforts by members of a single group to identify and address shared concerns collaboratively, or it may involve attempts to tie together the concerns of different groups in order to build a collaborative effort spanning different groups. This form of political action is characterized by cooperative and collaborative efforts to engage in mutually beneficial problem-solving. It involves power sharing and the building of collaborative working relationships with other individuals and groups. This does not necessarily require mutual admiration or emotional bonding, but it does require mutual respect, meaning the acknowledgement of the validity of others' claims and a willingness to work constructively with others. Pragmatic problem-solving means that people share a common stake in solving a problem, that they identify that common stake, and that they discover or create the common bases for acting upon it. (Mattern 2006: 374-5; original emphasis)

The political action of *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans* was grounded in the idea of rock-music as the 'pulse of the present' (Wicke 1987: 80), that is, as a medium capable of providing insight into the nature of social life as it happens and of communicating values and meanings that can potentially have a considerable impact on the fabric of society. Thus all three movements started from the premise that rock-music was much more than entertainment and that its primary socio-cultural significance was its ability to say something of substance and, in so doing, (try to) shake things up. In practical terms, this for the most part meant taking on the dominant cultural powers that be. The political action of *New Wave* was informed by primarily pragmatic and deliberative concerns: on the one hand, its aim was to identify the problems and experiences of modern urban youth, and to address these through the collaborative efforts of the united 'rock front' (i.e. cooperation of Zagreb and Belgrade rock-scenes); on the other hand, the goal was to engage the national cultural apparatus in an open debate about youth and its socio-cultural standing, and to open up the venues for youth's broader participatory inclusion in society. With *New Primitives* the political action of the music of commitment shifts from the strictly pragmatic and deliberative towards more confrontational terrain, although the form of confrontation at work was rather muted and, despite its militancy, not antagonistic to any consequential degree. The primary reason for this was that *New Primitives' praxis* was an engagement *with* rather than *against* the national cultural apparatus, and that its political aim was to broaden the horizons of the already existing form of culture rather than to replace it with something radically different. With the last incarnation of the music of commitment, *New Partisans*, the political action was recast in overtly confrontational terms. This was due to the fact that *New Partisans'* engagement was framed as an open militant resistance to the nationalization of Yugoslavia's cultural and political fields, and that the motivation for its cultural *praxis* was no longer acting *within* but rather against the now radically redrawn national cultural apparatus. For *New Partisans*, the struggle waged was one of overt opposition, premised on the clear notion of incompatible interests between the forces of right and wrong, and the clear sense of zero-sum power relations and of zero-sum outcomes. Ultimately, it was the matter of 'us' versus 'them'.

Overall, the music of commitment's proper sociological designation would be an emergent cultural form based in the utopian cultural *praxis* and articulated through the 'structures of feeling' of poetics of the present. Its 'outburst of utopian energy', to paraphrase Habermas (1989), through the practices of *New Wave*, *New Primitives* and *New Partisans* was animated by the impulse to work towards realizing the particular ideological vision of Yugoslav socialist community. For this reason, the dissipation of Yugoslav socialist ideal in the late 1980's meant the end of the music of commitment and the 'exhaustion of its utopian energy'. Simply put, the breakup of

Yugoslavia robbed the music of commitment of its cultural and political grounding, leaving its utopian imaginary without the point of reference in reality. Once this happened, the music of commitment lost its sense of meaning and purpose, and withered away. Not that there were no battles left to fight; in fact, one could argue that with the rise of nationalism there were more battles than ever. But these were the battles foreign to the music of commitment, because — motivated by the new cultural and political realities, and grounded in the radically redrawn ideological vision(s) — they rendered the struggle for Yugoslav vision meaningless. In these circumstances, the music of commitment was, to borrow Branimir Štulić's personal statement (Radišić 1994), left having 'no one to side with, and no one to go against'.

Did the music of commitment's outburst of utopian energy dissipate into nothing? Is there any legacy to speak of? Given that everything *New Wave, New Primitives*, and *New Partisans* struggled for failed, the answer to these questions would seem obvious. But it would also be too hasty. Despite the failure, the legacy of the music of commitment rests in its transformation from a progressive socio-cultural *praxis* to a progressive socio-cultural *memory*. This means, first, that the music of commitment enjoys the standing of the unsurpassed popular-cultural experience and is considered the standard for evaluating the achievements of all local popular-cultural developments since the late 1980's on. In addition, it also means that during the wartime of the 1990's the music of commitment provided an important cultural and intellectual compass for many who struggled to maintain their 'mental sanity' in the climate of rampant all-out nationalism; listening to *New Wave* music and maintaining the 'new wave outlook on life' (i.e. being urban, broad-minded, and open to others) thus meant not giving in to the nationalist fever and xenophobic paranoia, and resisting — if only symbolically — everything that the new political regimes across the Balkans were trying to enforce. Finally, the notion of progressive socio-cultural memory also conveys the fact that after the wartime of the 1990's the publicly reanimated memory of the music of commitment played a significant role in reconnecting the post-Yugoslav societies and mending some of their broken socio-cultural bonds — not in the form of Yugo-nostalgia for the 'good old days' but as a remembrance of the progressive socio-cultural experiences and practices of genuine human(ist) impulses.[161] In this latest incarnation, over a decade after its cultural exodus, the music of commitment thus resurrected as the 'memory reloaded', hovering over the post-Yugoslav space and gauging the normalcy of its present — and perhaps even future — socio-cultural trajectories. Could it be that its work is not done just yet?

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[161] The importance of Igor Mirković's documentary about *New Wave*, *Sretno dijete* (Mirković 2004b), cannot me overstated here. An intersection of the author's personal biography, the general socio-political background, and the music of Zagreb and Belgrade *New Wave* rock-scenes, the film struck a deep emotional and cultural cord with the audiences throughout the region and was received to a great popular and critical acclaim.

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